Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/memoirsl04longuoft

MEMOIRS

OF THE

Long Island Historical Society.

VOLUME IV.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

AND

MOUNT VERNON.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.:
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.
1889.

40463
3 | 12 | 97

F
116
L954
v.4

OFFICERS

OF THE

Long Island Historical Society.

1889–90.

President, - - - RICHARD S. STORRS, D.D., LL.D.
First Vice-President, - - - HON. JOSHUA M. VAN COTT.
Second Vice-President, - - - - - - SAMUEL McLEAN.
Foreign Corresponding Secretary, - HON. BENJAMIN D. SILLIMAN.
Home Corresponding Secretary, - - CHARLES H. HALL, D.D.
Recording Secretary, - - - - - - FREDERIC A. WARD.
Chairman of the Executive Committee, - THOMAS E. STILLMAN.
Treasurer, - - - - - - - JOHN JAY PIERREPONT.
Curator of the Museum, - - - - - ELIAS LEWIS, JR.

DIRECTORS.

RICHARD S. STORRS, D.D., LL.D.,
HON. JOSHUA M. VAN COTT,
SAMUEL McLEAN,
CHARLES H. HALL, D.D.,
JAMES R. TAYLOR,
GEORGE I. SENEY,
A. ABBOT LOW,
ALEXANDER M. WHITE,
HENRY SHELDON,
WALTER T. HATCH,
JOSEPH E. BROWN,
JOHN JAY PIERREPONT,
HON. BENJAMIN D. SILLIMAN,
TEMPLE PRIME,
THOMAS E. STILLMAN,
JOHN GIBB,
ALEXANDER E. ORR,
ELIAS LEWIS, JR.,
FREDERIC A. WARD,
BRYAN H. SMITH,
HENRY D. POLHEMUS,
JOHN CLAFLIN,
CHARLES M. PRATT,
C. DELANO WOOD.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THOMAS E. STILLMAN, CHAIRMAN.
HENRY SHELDON,
JAMES R. TAYLOR,
ALEXANDER E. ORR,
SAMUEL McLEAN,
JOSEPH E. BROWN,
WALTER T. HATCH.

COUNSELLORS.

KINGS COUNTY.

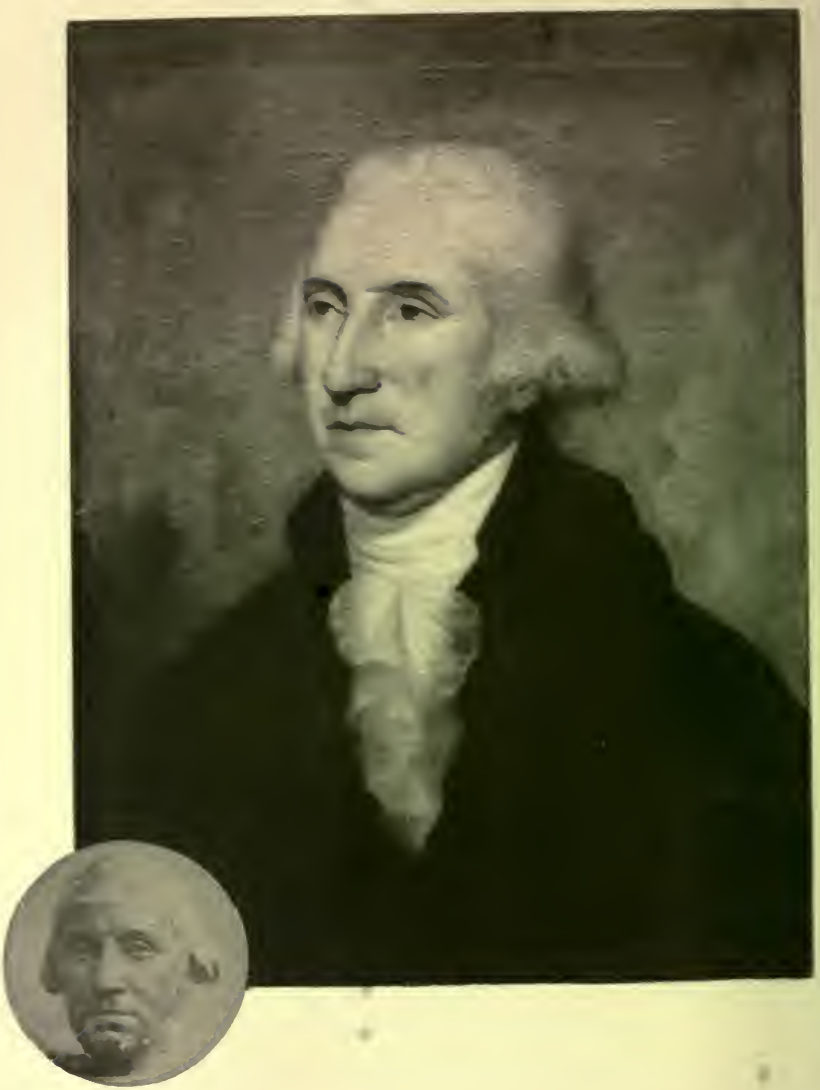
HON. J. S. T. STRANAHAN,
DAVID M. STONE,
REV. CHARLES CUTHBERT HALL,
WILLIAM B. LEONARD,
JULIUS W. BRUNN,
JOSEPH F. KNAPP,
HON. JASPER W. GILBERT,
FREDERICK A. FARLEY, D.D.,
PROF. DARWIN G. EATON,
T. MORTIMER LLOYD, M.D.,
GEORGE L. NICHOLS,
FLAMEN B. CANDLER.

QUEENS COUNTY.

A. N. LITTLEJOHN, D.D., D.C.L.,
WILLIAM FLOYD JONES,
EDWARD W. GILMAN, D.D.,
JOHN A. KING,
BENJAMIN D. HICKS,
CHARLES B. MOORE.

SUFFOLK COUNTY.

HON. JAMES H. TUTHILL,
PROF. EBEN N. HORSFORD,
CHARLES R. STREET,
EPHER WHITAKER, D.D.,
WILLIAM NICOL,
HON. JOHN R. REID.



WASHINGTON.

FROM THE ORIGINAL BY C. W. PEALE.
IN POSSESSION OF REV. MASON GALLAGHER.

ARTOTYPE, E. BIERSTADT, N. Y.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

AND

MOUNT VERNON

A COLLECTION OF WASHINGTON'S UNPUBLISHED AGRICULTURAL AND PERSONAL LETTERS

EDITED

WITH HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL INTRODUCTION

BY

MONCURE DANIEL CONWAY

Author of "Omitted Chapters of History disclosed in the Life and Papers of Edmund Randolph"

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

PUBLISHED BY THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1889

COPYRIGHT, 1889, BY
LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

TROW'S
PRINTING AND BOOKBINDING COMPANY,
NEW YORK.

PREFACE.

This volume is not only a monument of the first president of the United States, but, in a sense, of the first president of the Historical Society by which it is published. For it is the munificence of the late James Carson Brevoort which adds this contribution to the Centenary of Washington's inauguration. He whom the nation calls Father was as deeply interested in the literary and scientific, as in the industrial, culture of the country, and his homage was especially given to men who promoted both. Of these Mr. Brevoort was a remarkably fine type. From the infant school in New York, where he was born (in Bloomingdale, 10 July 1818) he passed to the Round Hill School, Northampton, Mass., where he was under the care of George Bancroft and Joseph Cogswell; his education was continued in Paris, then in Switzerland—at Baron Fellenberg's School, Hofwyl; this being followed by a three years' course at the *École Centrale des Arts et Manufactures*, in Paris, from which he received a diploma as Civil Engineer. After studying railway-construction in France and England he returned to New York in 1838, and for nearly a year was employed at the West Point foundry, in which his father was interested. In 1841, as surveyor, he accompanied Prof. James Renwick, one of the Commissioners of the North-east Boundary Survey. In 1842 he accompanied Washington Irving, United States Minister to Spain, as private secretary and *at-*

taché of the Legation. An intimate friendship between Mr. Brevoort and Washington Irving continued until the latter's death. In 1845 he married Elizabeth Dorothea, daughter of the Hon. Leffert Lefferts, first Judge of King's County, and first president of the Long Island Bank,—the earliest incorporated bank in Brooklyn. After Mr. Brevoort's marriage he made Brooklyn his home, and became actively interested in whatever concerned the welfare of that city. As a member of the Charter Convention (1847), as a member of the Board of Education, and of the Board of Water Commissioners, as a trustee of Greenwood Cemetery, his services were of much value. In 1863 he took an active part in the formation of the Long Island Historical Society, was its President until 1873, Chairman of its Executive Committee until 1876, and Director until his death, 15 December 1887.

Mr. Brevoort's services were by no means limited to any locality. For twenty-six years (1852–1878) he was a trustee of the Astor Library, and for two years its superintendent. His scientific and historical contributions were recognized by honorary membership in many American Societies, and in the Archæological Society of Madrid. In Natural History he was especially interested in Ichthyology; his collections were extensive and his writings on that subject have high authority. His "Notes on some Figures of Japanese Fish by Artists of the United States Expedition to Japan;" his "Early Spanish and Portuguese Coinage in America;" and "Verrazzano, the Navigator; or Notes on Giovanni da Verrazzano, and on a planisphere of 1529, illustrating his American Voyage in 1524;" are monographs of much value. His thorough acquaintance with ancient and modern languages opened to him original sources of information, which he was always willing to impart, selfishness being unknown to his nature.

By many learned Societies Mr. Brevoort was honored; by his associates of the Long Island Historical Society he was beloved as well as honored; and these Washington Papers, of his donation, are affectionately inscribed to James Carson Brevoort, from whom the patriot and the student will receive them as a bequest.

With the exception of the papers collected by the editor, and used in the Introduction and the Appendix, this volume consists of 127 Washington MSS., of which nearly all are letters to the manager of his Mount Vernon estates during his absence while President. They were bought from the family of that manager, William Pearce, by the Hon. Edward Everett, to whose eloquence the purchase and preservation of Mount Vernon are mainly due. Mr. Everett had intended to edit and publish them, but the task was never undertaken. At his death they passed to a member of his family, from whom they were purchased by Mr. Brevoort and presented to his cherished Long Island Historical Society.

HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL INTRODUCTION.

A LEGEND relates that Augustine Washington planted seeds which, when they grew, wrote the name of his child—George Washington. It sounds like a fable of Mount Vernon, in whose growths is perennially repeated the name of Washington. The present volume bears to the world a finer fruitage of that estate, in letters genuine as its oaks, fresh as its sward, sweet as its brier roses. Here is the man. Not in the battle-field, nor in the executive chair, shall we be intimate with the heart of Washington, but at Mount Vernon, where he wrote on the landscape what near life's close he repeated on paper: "The more I am acquainted with agricultural affairs the better I am pleased with them; insomuch that I can nowhere find so great satisfaction as in these innocent and useful pursuits. In indulging these feelings I am led to reflect how much more delightful, to an undebauched mind, is the task of making improvements on earth, than all the vain glory which can be acquired from ravaging it by the most uninterrupted career of conquests."

The visitor at Mount Vernon still finds a charm no art alone could give, in trees from various climes, each a witness of the taste that sought, or the love that sent them, in fields which the desolating step of war reverently passed by, in flowers whose root is not in graves, yet tinged with the life-blood of the heart that cherished them from childhood to old age. On those acres we move beneath shade or shelter of the invisible tree which put forth whatever meets the eye,

and has left some sign on each object, large or small. Still planted beside his river, he brings forth fruit of his season. Nor does his leaf wither. It is still a living inquiry—how grew Washington himself? The inquiry is appropriate for this volume, largely concerned with local and family details, and some contribution towards its satisfaction must be attempted. But for the present every such contribution must amount mainly to the collection of neglected materials, by aid of which the tree, to continue the similitude, may be distinguished from its mythical mosses, and freed from parasitic traditions.

Much of the Washington Mythology is a folklore such as must always invest the founders of nations or the man of the people. Washington is entitled to his Washington-lore, by which, indeed, he is rather draped than disguised. It is the fashion to smile at Parson Weems's romances of Washington's early life; but the quaint "Rector of Mount Vernon," as he called himself, to whom Washington in his last year wrote a kindly letter, needs only more time-perspective to be seen as an humble Homer reciting to Virginia villagers legends and ballads of their great men. One would travel far to surprise him reading the Bible to the negroes in their cabins, then tuning his fiddle for their dance; or to observe the lank figure beside his ancient buggy and bony horse, attracting his court-green audience with his music, and selling his patriotic leaflets. The very soul of his time, picturesque as it recedes, is in his ballad of Lord Fairfax, who, on hearing that Great Britain had surrendered to his surveyor, said, in Weems's recitative: "Come, Joe, I'm sure 'tis high time for me to die."

"Then up rose Joe, all at the word,
And took his master's arm,
And to his bed he softly led
The lord of Greenway farm:
There oft he called on Britain's name,
And oft he wept full sore,
And sighed 'Thy will, O Lord, be done!'
And word spake never more."

The legends of Washington's physical strength connect him with the race of heroes whose moral greatness gained traditional expression in a symbolism of size. When Henry II. would terminate the superstition of his Celtic subjects that King Arthur was not dead, but would reappear to expel the Saxons, he arranged that certain large animal bones should be discovered at Glastonbury and buried with pomp as those of Arthur. Ordinary human bones would have been popularly repudiated. The tale of Washington's father planting seeds which in springing up wrote his son's initials in green shoots, and suggested a sermon on creative design, does not lose interest by being borrowed from Dr. Beattie's sketch of his son. There were legends to suggest the contrivance to Beattie, stretching back as far as that of the infant Hildebrand who arranged the chips with which he played into the prophetic sentence, "Dominabitur a mare ad mare." Arthurian and Gregorian mythology that has migrated across the seas and twined round the childhood of a certain Virginian is not to be explained as falsehood nor dismissed as rubbish. Augustine Washington compelling the growing seed to write his son's name turns out to be Weems and others planting old stories to spring up as Washington-glories. The nation outgrows that particular folklore; it can not linger in the nursery where Washington's name is written in goody-goody stories; but it is not mature enough to dispense with the mythological figure altogether. It clings to the fable that Frederick the Great sent Washington a sword, with homage of "the oldest general in the world to the greatest," to the legend that our flag was evolved from his coat of arms, and the tradition that he never laughed.

By varieties of portraiture, pictorial and historical, Washington's individuality was made by one and another pious or political party into its own image, with result of the composite effigy with which the real personality revealed by research has to contend. To restore Washington to the place

occupied by this conventionalized Holy Picture has become the necessity of political history. The literary manipulation of Washington's writings, now generally condemned, was only part of a system of pious suppression and conventionalization. The great need of the world is a complete and critical biography of Washington, but to write it would require a courage equal to his own. And indeed, for the present, it is on Washington's own courage that the truth of his history is mainly depending. He has fearlessly left to the certain inspection of mankind, diaries and letters, in which his public and private life are faithfully recorded. These remains, more than 4,000, mainly preserved by his own drafts, amount to an autobiography so candid that, when fully published, other biographies will be shelved.

It is natural that some should have misgivings concerning this complete publication of Washington. The historiographer of the Diocese of Virginia, Dr. Philip Slaughter, (whose eloquent centennial discourse in Washington's church at Alexandria all should read) wrote to me last year: "What a terrible ordeal Washington's character will have to endure at the many hands now plying their scalpels and critical glasses to its dissection. To have all one's doings and sayings in the abandon of private life proclaimed upon the house-tops is a trial through which no one could pass unscathed save that peerless person who stood alone with nothing like to him." Since this was written (18 Dec. 1888) fragmentary publications of the intimate correspondence of Washington, often with ignorant inferences, have subjected his fame to an unfair ordeal. The danger now lies rather in partial than in full publicity. When Washington appears as delineated by himself in his simple record some small haloes may fade; but it will be found that such haloes have obscured a greater brain than is commonly recognized, a larger heart, a life more pathetic, a character formed by the eighteenth century of America which in turn he largely formed.

At any rate, it is inevitable that every word of Washington shall be brought to light. American history is not yet really written, and cannot be written, nor our future stand firmly on the shoulders of the Past, unless we can freely study this man both as an individual and a type of his time, instead of a supernatural avatar. And this emancipation from thraldom to a mere name is a final service done by the pen of him whose sword liberated us from the previous superstition of royalty.

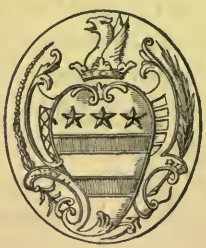
There is a further reason why Washington alone can reveal his true self beneath his traditional effigy. He was an unwitting party to his own conventionalization. His patriotism and his humility induced him to sacrifice his preferences, in ceremonial matters, to statesmen more learned than himself, but often less wise. American society was under sway of courts for some time after political independence was achieved. "It was expected," wrote Edmund Randolph, "at the commencement of our revolutionary government that these gaudy trappings would be abandoned. They were retained indeed by usage, not by any authoritative recognition, nor yet from any admiration of the empty baubles in the country of our origin, or an anti-republican tendency in the people; but they may be ascribed to a degree of pride which would not suffer the new government to carry with it fewer testimonies of public devotion than the old." By such influences Washington was induced to accept, as President, a ceremonial régime which he disliked,—his wife declaring her environment of etiquette a virtual imprisonment. Washington also attitudinises in heroic portraits through submission to their painters. Such irksome concessions helped to diffuse a misconception of his character which, had it not been erroneous, might have made him a king. Yet just this constitutes what one may almost call a Washingtonology. He stands like an obelisk, whose substance tells the story of a geologic formation, but is yet less important than the symbols

and histories engraved on it. Washington is our eighteenth century.

At Wakefield, the birthplace of Washington, I have found, on a document of 1695, a seal with modifications of the Washington arms which may shed light on the genealogical problem. For their appreciation the reader will find the following facts important, and, indeed, of interest apart from the question of pedigree.

In 1785 the Countess of Huntington, a connection of the Northamptonshire Washingtons, claimed relationship with the General, whom she sought to enlist in her scheme for Indian evangelization. In 1791 Sir Isaac Heard, Garter King of Arms, enclosed to Washington a genealogical statement on the same theory. In his reply (2 May 1792) Washington says: "I have often heard others of the family, older than myself, say, that our ancestor, who first settled in this country, came from some one of the northern counties of England; but whether from Lancashire, Yorkshire, or one still more northerly I do not precisely remember. The arms enclosed in your letter are the same that are held by the family here; though I have also seen, and have used, as you may perceive by the seal to this packet, a flying griffin for the crest."

The seal here referred to was no doubt Washington's private seal, now in possession of Robert J. Washington of Westmoreland, to whom I am indebted for the impression here given. The Sulgrave crest has a raven instead of a griffin. Notwithstanding Washington's suggestion of a more northerly origin the pedigree of the family from that of Northamptonshire had been generally accepted until 1867. In that year Col. Joseph L. Chester, in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, proved that the John



Private Seal.

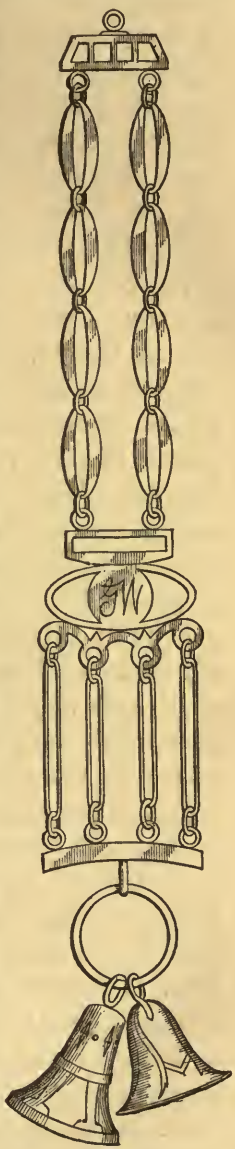
and Lawrence Washington of Northamptonshire, previously identified as the Virginia immigrants, never came to America.

Washington used a curious variety of seals. The "private seal" differs from another, used at the same period, in its foliations, being also without the motto, "*Exitus acta probat*," which occurs on two other seals. At what time Washington began to use the arms,—three mullets in chief, and two bars,—is uncertain. His early seals had no armorial character. By the favor of Mr. Howell, of the N. Y. State Library, and skill of Miss Sutermeister, his assistant, I am enabled to present fac-similes of Washington's watch-chain (reduced from $7\frac{5}{8}$ in. to 6) and two seals (full-sized), purchased by New York from the estate of Lewis W. Washington. The earlier, or "silver seal," was lost on Braddock's field and there found by Daniel Boone Logan in 1842. The "golden seal" no doubt succeeded the other.

Silver Seal.

Gold Seal.

Dr. A. M. Hamilton of New York owns a very old china plate from Mount Vernon, with the letters "Geo. and M. W." beneath a spread eagle with thunderbolts in its talons. This appears to me earlier than the mirror and silver plate, in the National Museum, on



Chain.

which the Sulgrave arms are represented. In a letter of 6 June 1768, to Robert Cary & Co., London, ordering a chariot, Washington directs that it shall be decorated "with my arms agreeable to the impression here sent." This is his earliest mention of arms. In vol. I. of Washington's Letters (State Department) p. 701, a letter to Hancock, 18 May 1776, bears traces of a seal that may have had some armorial character; but the earliest certain use of any device by Washington is a griffin, which seals a letter to Robert Morris, 27 Jan. 1777. (*Ib.* vol. III. p. 509.) In the same volume, p. 571, the arms occur on a letter of 3 March 1777 to Messrs. Morris, Clymer, and Walton, Members of Congress. The shield is here, as on the furniture in the National Museum, of the "heater" (flatiron) shape. As yet no motto appears. In 1777 Washington used other seals: on July 31 he seals a letter to Hancock with an urn (vol. IV. p. 471); on Sep. 13 and 16, to the same, he seals with a dove bearing an olive branch over a flood, and motto "La Pax" (vol. V. pp. 55, 67).

From an early period Washington appears to have generally used some kind of envelope, and the rarity of examples of his seals may thus be partly accounted for; but he also often used wafers. On four letters only of the present volume are there arms. On the letter (1779) to Lund Washington, p. 320, the crown and griffin alone appear; this also is the seal on a Letter to Bushrod Washington 15 Jan. 1784 in this Introduction. A letter (1796) to Pearce, p. 269, has the Sulgrave arms as engraved above, with the crooked shield, but with the motto added; such is also the seal on the letter (1797) to Bushrod Washington, p. 339. The foliations around this motto-shield are different from the "private seal." The earliest use of the latter which I have found is on a leave of absence to Major L'Enfant 16 Oct. 1783. Sir John Sinclair engraved the same on two of his facsimiles of Washington's letters to him (20 Oct. 1792, and 6 Nov. 1797).

The Sulgrave arms appear on the frame of an engraved portrait of Louis XVI. sent by him to Washington (in the National Museum); also in the *Columbian Magazine*, Feb. 1787, under a portrait of Washington, who is decorated as if to satisfy monarchists of the Constitutional Convention. This represents the only publication I can find of the arms, which some have strangely supposed to be the origin of our stars and stripes!

At what time Washington began to use his motto I cannot discover, but apparently late in life. Mr. Cabot Lodge (George Washington, II. p. 386) relates that "he said to one officer, 'I never judge the propriety of actions by after events'"—which precisely reverses his motto *Exitus acta probat.* Mr. Garnett of the British Museum sends me a letter of Washington to "Mrs. Wright in England," 30 Jan. 1785, which is unique in having the motto under the private seal (p. xiv.) and the raven crest,—this, however, different from the Sulgrave raven in Sparks I. 174.

The originals of the Wills of the earlier Washingtons of Virginia being lost, it was with but little hope that I resolved on an exploration of records in Westmoreland. But under the hospitable roof of Wakefield, residence of Mr. and Mrs. John E. Wilson—the latter a descendant of Col. Wm. Aug. Washington—was made the discovery to which I have referred. Among Mr. Wilson's papers is an Indenture of Lewis Markham, dated 28 May 1695, conveying land to "Lawrence Washington Gentl," to complete which he borrowed Lawrence's seal. The shield has the three mullets in chief, two bars, and no crescent. Crest a helmet (I think), supporting coronet, and eagle issuant. One significance of this Crest is that the eagle is used by the German Washingtons who come of the Adwick-le-Street branch. This makes a third coincidence with the German family, which uses the griffin and motto also.

Wakefield Seal (exact size).

In the *Historical Magazine* (III. p. 83) the Adwick branch is traced to the family which named Washington parish, Durham—the only parish so named save that in Virginia. On the marriage of their heiress Dyonis Washington with Sir William Tempest, of Studley Royal, the minor branch dispersed. In 1577 James Washington owned the manor of Adwick-le-Street. John Washington came to Virginia from South Cave, and it may be noted that the castle there was thirty years ago owned by an heiress named Lawrence.[1] Another member of the family founded a family in Germany. To Baron Von Washington of Munich the President wrote, 20 Jan. 1790: "There can be but little doubt, Sir, of our descending from the same stock" (*Hist. Mag.*, IV. p. 86).[2]

---

[1] That John Washington emigrated from South Cave (30 miles from Adwick-le-Street) is a tradition, but with many probabilities in its favor. Wakefield, which reappears as name of the Virginia homestead, is also in Yorkshire. As to the name "Lawrence," so much used by the American family, it may be mentioned for what it is worth that in the early annals a marriage is recorded of Sir James Lawrence of Trafford, Lancashire, with Matilda, heiress of one John Washington. The name "Lund" also appears at the head of the Adwick-le-Street pedigree in Sparks (I. 554). It should be borne in mind that the coronet from which a crest issues signifies nothing in the way of rank.

[2] The account given by the Bavarian Barons Von Washington of their family is that their ancestor James Washington (brother of the Virginians) was involved in the Duke of Monmouth affair (1683–4) and fled to Holland. This corresponds with the Rotterdam merchant of that name mentioned in Sparks' table of the Adwick-le-Street family. In the same table, besides this Rotterdam James, appears "John, drowned in 1661." Possibly John was not drowned. (Magazine of *Am. Hist.* Feb. 1879.) In Rietstap (*Armorial Général*) the arms of the German family are given as follows:—"Washington. Bav. (Barons 8 déc. 1829). D'arg. a deux fasces ab. de. gu. acc. de trois etoiles du même, rangés en chef. Cq. cour. C: une tête et col d'aigle de sa., tenent en son bec une rose blanche tigée et feuillée de sin. S: deux griffons de sa. D: *Exitus acta probat.*" It will be seen that this is substantially the coat of arms on the Wakefield seal,—the crest also, excepting the white rose in the eagle's beak. This Wakefield eagle also seems to hold something in its beak. The Germans are the only other Washington family in which I can discover the use of the General's motto. His crest appears in their griffin supporters. In England the motto is used by several families, and the three stars and two bars by the Freke family.

In 1626 a Lawrence Washington lived in Bermuda; and Mr. Alexander Brown of Va. has discovered the indictment of one George Washington at the Bermuda Assizes, Nov. 1648, for saying that "the King has sould his subjects to Popery" and "deserved to be hanged 7 years ago."

Whence came the griffin, as the Washington crest, I do not know. At Wakefield Mr. Wilson showed me an arbitration (3 Dec. 1742) between Augustine and John,—the General's father and uncle—on their boundaries; to this they have affixed, if we make it out correctly, each the same seal, —which appears to me a griffin, but with wings more displayed than those used by the General, and more like the Yorkshire family's eagle. No arms are on this seal used by the brothers. Indeed Augustine does not appear to have been particular about his seal, and on an important Agreement of 1737 (owned by Dr. Emmet) his round seal, perhaps borrowed from a bystander, represents two Cupids playing with hearts.[1]

The first Washingtons in Virginia may therefore be re-

[1] After the above was in type I was favored by Mr. Dean, editor of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, with sheets of an important contribution on the subject by Henry F. Waters, A.M. The paper now appears in the October *Register*. It adds to our knowledge the fact that the younger of the Virginia immigrants, Lawrence Washington, was from Luton, Bedfordshire. Twelve miles from Luton is Tring, Co. Herts, where Mr. Waters discovers the presence of a Lawrence Washington, and two sons —John and Lawrence—who, at the time of immigration (1657) would be 23 and 24 years of age. Mr. Waters believes this Lawrence, the father, to be the one who was supposed, until Col. Chester's paper of 1867, to be himself the immigrant; that is the Rev. Fellow of Brasenose, Oxford, and rector of Purleigh. This would restore the Sulgrave connection though in another generation. The theory, however, is doubtful. There is no certainty that Lawrence of Tring was a clergyman, and Mr. Waters does not explain why the sons of a rector of Purleigh, Essex, from 1632 to 1643, should he born at Tring, Herts, in 1634 and 1635. And these were young, in 1657, to have families. There were several Lawrence Washingtons of that generation, and it is not easy to identify the one at Tring, but Mr. Waters has shown probabilities that it is in that region we are likely to discover further traces of the brothers who migrated to Virginia. It may be hoped that Mr. Waters will find some seal at Tring to compare with that just found at Wakefield.

garded as of the "minor gentry." The archives of Maryland (*Hist. Mag.* 2nd Series, I. p. 29) show that John Washington, on his arrival, complained to Governor Fendall, of Maryland, against Captain Prescott for having hung an alleged witch, Elizabeth Richardson, on the voyage. When the trial came on John excused to the Governor his non-attendance (30 Sept. 1659), "Because then, God willing, I intend to gett my young Sonne baptized. All ye Company and Gossips being already invited." Col. John Washington's indignation against Prescott (who pleaded that he was not in command at the time, and that the crew were on the verge of mutiny) is some offset against his ferocity against the Indians, who called him Conotocarius,—town-destroyer,—a title which his famous grandson found fallen to himself when in youth he was sent on a peaceful mission to the Indians. The land which John occupied in Westmoreland is still called *Indian Town*. Washington village, Durham, was the place of the dragon which the Knight Lambton encountered, and John may have fancied he was fulfilling the tradition of his elders when he dragooned red men. John brought his first wife and two children with him from England. These having all died, he married Anne Pope of Pope's Creek, about 1660.

About the same time the other immigrant, Lawrence, married Mildred Warner (second wife) and reciprocally named his first son after his brother John,—whose first American son was named Lawrence.

These brothers were among the earliest settlers of Westmoreland, Virginia, which is first mentioned in an act of July, 1653, as extending "from Achoactoke river where Mr. Cole lives: And so upwards to the ffalls of the great river of Pawtomake above the Necostius towne:" (1 Hening 381.) Northumberland had been formed seven years earlier, and Stafford is first mentioned in 1666. The brothers together held patents for many acres, which they swiftly multiplied,—John on the Upper Potomac, Lawrence on the Rappahannock.

Although Major John Washington was rebuked by Gov. Sir William Berkeley for his conduct towards Indians he was friendly among his neighbors. Mrs. Frances Peyton, widow of Col. Valentine Peyton did, on the 21 July 1665, ordain her "trusty and well beloved friend Major John Washington" to be her attorney for all purposes.

In General Washington's time the descendants of the immigrant brothers do not appear to have known their degrees of relationship. In his letter to Sir Isaac Heard, Washington says the descendants of Lawrence were numerous, but that he is unable to give a satisfactory account of them; and to two of them he leaves bequests with the words, "To the acquaintances and friends of my juvenile years, Lawrence Washington and Robert Washington, of Chotanck, I give, etc." By the assistance of Prof. Chapman Maupin (of the University School, Ellicott City, Md.), a descendant of this line, I am able to make the relationship clear. Lawrence (the immigrant), a widower, married Jane (called Joyce) Flemming in Virginia: their son John married Mary Townshend (1691–2): of this last-named marriage the eldest son was John, who married Miss Massy, and the youngest Townshend, who married Elizabeth Lund. This last-named John had a son named Lawrence, and his brother Townshend a son named Robert; and these first cousins were the two "acquaintances and friends" of Washington's juvenile years. A brother of Robert was Lund Washington, so long the manager of Mount Vernon, some of Washington's letters to whom are quoted in Appendix.

John, son of the immigrant, who married Mary Townshend, married a second wife (name not discovered). A grandson of this second marriage was Col. Bailey Washington, whose son William Augustine Washington was the hero of Cowpens. This Col. William Washington's admirable qualities won the esteem of General Washington, and there was even an intimacy between them.

For the following I am indebted to Dr. Toner of Washington:

"Charleston S. C. Nov. 7th 1790.

"Sir,

"Your Excellency's favor of March 25th accompanied with a Medal struck by order of the late Congress I have received.

"This flattering mark of respect confered on me by the Representatives of my Country will make a indelible impression of gratitude on my mind.

"The people of this State indulge themselves with the hope that your Excellency will pay them a visit the ensuing year, it will give me much pleasure if your Excellency and family will abide with me whilst in Charleston.

"Mrs. Washington flatters herself with the pleasure of your Lady's company.

I am sir
With the greatest respect and esteem
Your Excellency's
Very obedi't Servt.
W. Washington."

Col. William, it is said, declined the title "General," saying "there can be but one General Washington in America." His military career in the revolution was cut short by capture and parole; but in 1798, when Washington was again made Commander (on the prospect of war with France) he appointed Col. William Washington to the command of North and South Carolina and Georgia, with the rank of Brigadier General. Col. Washington was then living at Charleston, S. C., where he had married (a Miss Elliot), and where his descendants are numerous. To one of these I am indebted for a letter written by Brig. Gen. William Washington to General Washington 19 Oct. 1798, the closing paragraphs of which are as follows:—

"I had indulged the pleasing hope that I had made a final retreat into the peaceful shades of retirement, but at this momentous crisis I shall not hesitate when I shall have my appointment officially announced (at present I know nothing of it, except what appears in the

public prints,) to obey the summons of my country, especially when I know that the army is to be commanded by a chief for whom I have had the highest respect and veneration.

"Please to make a tender of my best respects to Mrs. Washington. With the greatest respect and esteem, your very obedient servant."

The well-known paternal ancestry of Washington may be omitted in order to give more space to his maternal genealogy. For this, Capt. George Washington Ball of Fauquier, great-great-grandson of Mary Washington, has placed at my disposal his useful monograph on "The maternal ancestry and nearest of kin of Washington." The following is from an old MS. preserved in the Downman family of Virginia:

"*History of the Ball family of Barkham, comitatis Berks, taken from the Visitation Booke of London, marked O. 24 in the College of Arms:*

"William Ball, Lord of the Manor of Barkham, com. Berks, died in the year 1480.

"Robert Ball, of Barkham, com. Berks, his son & heir, died in the year 1543. He left two sons, William and Edward. To William he gave his personal estate, and he dwelt at Wokingham. Edward inherited the landed estate.

"William Ball died at Wokingham in 1550, and was succeeded by his son John Ball, who married, first, Alice Haynes of Finchhampstead, by whom he had four children, William, Richard, Elizabeth, Joane; and, second, Agnes, daughter of Richard Holloway of Barkham, by whom he had four children, John, Robert, Thomas, and Rachel, and died in 1599.

"He was succeeded by his son John Ball, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Webb of Rascombe, com. Berks. He died in 1628 leaving five sons and six daughters, William, Thomas, George, Richard, & Samuel, Rachel, Elizabeth, Susan, Als, Dorothy, & Mary.

"William Ball of Lincoln's Inn, and one of four attorneys in the Office of Pleas in the Exchequer, was living in 1634.

"His son, Col. William Ball, emigrated to Virginia in the year 1657, and settled at 'Millenbeck' (his plantation) on the Rappahannock river, Lancaster County, Parish of Saint Mary's, White Chapel. He

married Hannah Atherald (Atherall?) and died in 1680, leaving two sons, William and Joseph, and one daughter, Hannah, who married David Fox.

"Captain William Ball married Margaret, daughter of Rawleigh Downman, and resided at 'Millenbeck.' He died Sept. 30th 1694, leaving eight sons and one daughter, William, Richard, James, Joseph, George, David, Stretchley, and Samuel. The daughter, Margaret, married her first cousin Raleigh Downman.

"Joseph Ball, second son of Col. William Ball, of 'Millenbeck,' lived at 'Epping Forest' in Lancaster County, Va. He was married twice; first to [several words illegible here, Miss Rogers is doubtless meant,] by whom he had one son, Joseph, and second to Mrs. Mary Johnson, by whom he had five daughters: Hannah, who married Mr. Raleigh Travers, of Stafford; Anne married Col. Edwin Conway; Esther married Mr. Raleigh Chinn; Elizabeth married Rev'd Mr. Carnagie; and Mary who married Mr. Washington, and was the mother of Gen'l George Washington.

"Joseph Ball died in June 1715 [1711] and is buried at 'Epping Forest,' [Va.] His son Joseph, by his first wife, was educated in England, became a Barrister at Law, and married Frances, daughter of Thomas Ravenscroft of London. He returned to Virginia, and resided, for some years at 'Moratico,' in Lancaster County, but finally went back to England, and lived at Stratford-by-Bow, in Essex Co., where he died Jan. 10th 1760. He had only one child, Frances, who married Raleigh Downman. They returned to Virginia in 1765, and lived at Moratico. They had three children: Joseph Ball Downman, Raleigh Wm. Downman, and Frances, who married James Ball of 'Bewdly,' Lancaster Co., Va."

This paper requires a correction: Mary was the only child of Col. Joseph Ball by his second wife; the others were children of his marriage with Miss Rogers.

The Ball arms are in Burke: Lion rampant, sable, holding in the dexter paw a fireball ppr. Crest: out of a ducal coronet a hand and arm embossed in mail, grasping a fireball ppr. Motto: "Coelumque tueri."

Concerning the widow Mary Johnson, Col. Joseph Ball's second wife, Washington's grandmother, history is silent. Capt. G. W. Ball, in his Monograph, prints the follow-

ing from a letter of Col. James Ball of Bewdly, 11 Sept. 1789:

"The death of old Mrs. Washington we had heard of before the receipt of yours. I have according to your request made inquiry into her genealogy, but have gained very little satisfaction relative to her mother's family. Old Mrs. Sherman her niece, of whom I expected most, knows nothing more than that her [Mary Washington's] mother was an Englishwoman."

Mrs. Sherman's ignorance, even of the maiden name of Col. Ball's second wife, and some other circumstances, incline me to credit a rumor that the widow Mary Johnson had been a housekeeper in the family. Before the marriage her name appears as witness to the signature of Col. Joseph Ball, on a conveyance of land (12 Feb. 1703) to his son-in-law Chinn. Col. Joseph Ball's will, dated June 5, and admitted to probate July 11, 1711, devised lands and slaves to his five children by his first wife, and bequeathed to his "loving wife Mary Ball, the feather-bed, bolsters, and all the furniture thereto belonging, whereon I now lie in my own lodging chamber, as it stands now and is used, and all the chairs in the house which are single nailed." He also devises to her land, slaves, crops, horses, cattle, stills, chaise and harness, and an "Irish woman, by the name of Ellen Grafton, for the time she has to serve." To his daughter Mary he gives "400 acres of land in Richmond County, in ye freshes of Rappahn. River." To his wife's daughter, Eliza Johnson, he gives a hundred acres.

Mary Ball was born in 1706; her husband, Augustine Washington, was born in 1694.

The estate on which George Washington was born,—some years subsequently called "Wakefield,"—was a tract of 400 acres bought by Lawrence Washington, grandfather of the General, from Robert, Thomas, and Dorothy Liston, of Bristol. Their agent was Lewis Markham, and it was in this very transaction that he used the Washington seal already

described. Among the papers at Wakefield is a note of Lawrence Washington to Markham (dated 16 June 1695):

"Sir,—I herewith deliver youe a Coppey of your convaance of y^e^ Liston's Land I bought; and a Coppey of youre bond; by which youe will see wh^t^ is to bee p^d^ for mee one your partt; and when they make there assurances youe had best have your power Renued for acknowl-ed'g itt & bring power from their wifes for dower; & there bonds for defending y^r^ titell & recording itt; soe hope you will Actte as securely for me as your Selfe; Well knowing y^t^ a hunderd pound is a great deale of money to lay outt one a peace of Land withoutt timber; and houses tumbling downe. Nott doubting your Ceare, I wish youe a good voayge and subscribe your reayall freind.

Law: Washington."

The home of Washington, now known as Mount Vernon, is on a tract still earlier in possession of the family. In 1670 a tract of 5000 acres above Dogue Run was granted jointly to John Washington of Westmoreland, Va., and Nicholas Spencer (of Bedford, England) from Gov. Berkeley. John Washington's moiety was between Dogue Run and Little Hunting Creek. His will, dated at Bridge Creek, 26 Feb. 1675, was proved 10 Jan. 1677. He bequeathed his "Hunting Creek plantation" to his son Lawrence Washington. The will of this son (Lawrence) is dated 11 March 1697. In it he bequeathes to his son Augustine (the General's father) the estate afterwards called Wakefield, and to his daughter Mildred all his "land in Stafford Co. [which then included Mount Vernon] lying upon Hunting Creek where Mrs. Eliza Minton & Mrs. Williams now lives, by estimation 2500 acres." But Mildred died in infancy, and the Hunting Creek estate (Mount Vernon) became the joint possession of the widow and two sons, until it fell to the survivor of them all, Augustine, about the year 1730.[1]

[1] In his Will, Lawrence (the General's grandfather) desires burial beside his parents, brothers, sister, and children; that his debts shall be "contented;" a mourning ring to Wm. Thompson, clerk, and Mrs. Sarah

An Agreement, already referred to as in possession of Dr. Emmet, shows the General's father largely interested in the Spotswood iron enterprises of Virginia and Maryland. He is described as "Captain Augustine Washington of Prince William County." This is in 1737; and I am indebted to Dr. Slaughter for the information that in the same year Augustine went to England, returning in July "with convicts." On the voyage a passenger, Capt. Hugh French, died of "gaol distemper contracted on board," but "Captain Washington" was reported in "good health." It appears probable that Augustine got his title by commanding some ship for a time. At any rate he had a more adventurous career than has hitherto been supposed,—unless by the author of "Lacon," who says that an accident in Cheshire, England, threw Augustine Washington into the company of the lady who went to Virginia as his wife. It is possible that Joseph Ball, the London lawyer, was visited there by his father's widow and her daughter, and that Captain Augustine, after the death of his first wife (Jane Butler) in 1728, met and married Mary

---

Thompson, each, of 30/ price; to his godson Law. Butler 2 cows; to his "sister Ann Writt's children one man-servant apiece of 4 or 5 years to serve," 3000 lbs. tobacco to purchase the same when they are 20 yrs. of age; to his sister Lewis a mourning ring, 40/; to his cousin John Washington of Stafford all wearing apparel; to cousin John's oldest son Lawrence, his godson, when 20 yrs. 3000 lbs. tobacco to purchase a man servant; to godson Law. Butler, and Lewis Nicholas tract of land, 225 acres, adjoining Meridah Edwards and David White; to the upper and lower churches, Washington parish, pulpit covers and cushions; for funeral sermon 3000 lbs. tobacco; his personal property to be divided between, wife, daughter, and sons, Jno. and Aug.; to Jno. tract he lives on and another from mouth of Mochodock Ck. to Round Hills; to Augustine the Liston land, "lying between my brother and Baldridge's, (400 acres) also land that was Richard Hill's, and Markham's when M's family are deceased (700 acres.)". Then follows bequest of the Hunting Creek land in text. To John his water mill; also "that land which I bought of my brother Francis and Wright, being 200 acres near Stork's quarter." Executors: cousin Jno. Washington of Stafford, Sam'l Thompson and loving wife Mildred. Signed in presence of Robt. Readman, Geo. Weedon, Thos. Howes, and Jno. Rosier. Probate 30 March 1698: Jas. Western, C. C.

Ball in England. There would be nothing in this to cast any doubt on George Washington's assertion that he himself was born in Virginia.

There is no foundation for the statement that Wakefield was burned soon after the birth of Washington therein. The fire did not occur until 1779. Nor is the generally accepted account true, that Augustine's removal, in 1735, was to the farm in King George Co. near Fredericksburg. He was from 1735 to 1739, a resident of Prince William. This county was formed from Stafford and King George in 1730. By this change the tract now known as Mount Vernon (in Fairfax) which had been successively in Westmoreland and in Stafford, became included in Prince William. The Truro Parish Vestry-Book—the invaluable possession of Dr. Slaughter, save one page with autographs of Washington, Mason and other great men which has found its way to the New York Historical Society,—bears witness to some surprising facts. Truro Parish (Prince William) was instituted in 1732, and Captain Augustine Washington was sworn a vestryman, 18 Nov. 1735. On Jan. 17 of this year he lost his daughter (by the first wife) Jane. He also represented in the House of Burgesses, as Prince William, the same county his brilliant son Lawrence represented later as Fairfax. In August 1736 Augustine signed the Parish "Minutes," and recommended Charles Green to the Bishop of London for orders. He was present at a Vestry of 13 August 1737, at which Rev. Charles Green was elected Rector. He also attended the Vestry in October, 1737, between which date and October 1739, there is a gap in the Truro MS.

Dr. McGuire, who married a granddaughter of Gen. Washington's sister Betty, says that Augustine came to reside near Fredericksburg in 1739. This is confirmed by the fact that in 1740 he conveyed to his son Lawrence the 2500 acres which the latter afterwards named Mount Vernon. This deed, recorded in the General Court Office, 23 Oct. 1740, was burned

during the Civil War. The Will of Augustine, who died 12 April 1743, confirmed this gift. It was recorded in King George County, May 1743. From Lawrence the estate passed to George Washington.

It appears clear that Mount Vernon, on which Washington lavished his devotion, was a heritage from his first ancestor in Virginia, and the homestead of his own earliest recollections.

The hopeless loss of the Truro Registers may account for the absence of data concerning the children of Capt. Augustine and Mary Washington beyond the meagre entries of their Bible,—in which have been inserted some particulars concerning George, evidently after his celebrity.

"Augustine Washington and Mary Ball was married the Sixth of March $17\frac{32}{31}$.

"George Washington Son to Augustine & Mary his Wife was Born y^{e} 11th Day of February 1731/2 about 10 in the Morning & was Baptiz'd the 3th of April following M^{r} Beverley Whiting & Cap^{t} Christopher Brooks Godfathers and M^{rs} Mildred Gregory Godmother.

"Betty Washington born 20th June 1733 about 6 in y^{e} Mornin. Departed this life the 31st of March 1797 at 4 o'clock.

"Samuel Washington was born y^{e} 16 of Nov. 1734 about 3 in y^{e} Mornin.

"John Augustine Washington was born y^{e} 13th of Jany about 2 in y^{e} Morn 1735/6.

"Charles Washington borne y^{e} 2 day of May about 3 in y^{e} Morne 1738.

"Mildred Washington was Born y^{e} 21st of June 1739 about 9 at night.

"Mildred Washington departed this Life Oct^{r} y^{e} 23^{d} 1740 being Thursday abt 12 a Clock at Noon, aged 1 year & 4 months."

An interesting inquiry is suggested by Capt. Augustine Washington's importation of "convicts." Tradition says that George Washington was taught in childhood by a sexton named Hobby; but the only contemporary statement is that of Rev. Jonathan Boucher, teacher of Jacky Custis, who says Washington was "taught by a convict servant whom his

father bought for a schoolmaster." The sexton of Truro Parish in 1747 was a "convict"—William Grove. It may be that "Hobby" was this man's nickname, and that he had previously taught the Washington children; or "Hobby" may have been another of the "convicts"—probably political.

Dr Slaughter's researches have led him, as he tells me, to the conclusion that "Hobby" was sexton of the church at Falmouth, and that the Washington children went to school there. Falmouth was founded, as a military station, in 1675. In 1732 the House of Burgesses ordered the erection of a church "in the new parish of Brunswick," "in the town of Falmouth." Fredericksburg was founded in 1727, and the church edifice there (St. George's) was not completed until sixteen years later. Education being in clerical hands, it may be assumed that between 1739 and 1743 (the year of Augustine's death) the nearest school was at Falmouth, two miles above the Washington farm, on the same side of the river.

The "Little Falls" farm on the Rappahannock, often mentioned in Washington's diaries, was the maiden property of Mary Ball,—the 400 acres devised, as we have seen, by Col. Joseph Ball. It was contiguous with the estate of her brother, Joseph, the London lawyer, and when bequeathed (1711) was in Richmond County. "Sherwood Forest," Joseph's portion, seems to have been a dowry of his daughter Frances Downman, and passed to Henry Fitzhugh, who married a Downman. The Ball homestead was "Traveller's Rest," so long occupied by Col. Burgess Ball,—possibly handed down from his great-grandmother, Col. Joseph Ball's daughter Anne (Conway), Mary Washington's half-sister. In the Will of John Augustine (date 19 Nov. 1784, probate in Westmoreland 31 July 1787) we find: "Item, to my son Bushrod . . . my Land in Stafford County conveyed to me by my mother Mrs. Mary Washington adjoining the lands of Downman's estate and Col. Burgis Ball in Rappahannock and containing 400 acres."

The Will of Capt. Augustine Washington, and its record, disappeared during the Civil War, but I have made out the following bequests. Augustine, probably his oldest son, received the homestead in Westmoreland; Lawrence the Fairfax land, then in a wilderness; John Augustine was given "Bushfield" Westmoreland; Samuel, Chotanck, Stafford (533 acres, which it cost his half-brother Augustine £600 to free from a claim): he divided his iron shares between them: he gave his widow her own inheritance, 400 acres, and some land near the furnace on Accokeek (the furnace shares going to Lawrence,) also a bit on Deep Run,—near another iron forge (twenty miles above Falmouth on the Rappahannock) whose ruins remain. The daughter was excluded from the distribution of negroes. Although Mary Washington dwelt near her daughter, and depended on her unfailing devotion, Betty received by her Will only her horse and phaeton. Having given her farm down the river to her son John, she bequeathed in her Will (dated 20 May 1788) her remaining lands to the General,—swelling the forty thousand acres he already owned. It does not appear to have occurred to any one that there was injustice in this, except that a letter elsewhere quoted shows the General's surprise that Betty should not have had a child's portion of her father's negroes.

George Washington's inheritance of land, when he should come of age, is called in his Diary the "Upper Place." It was 280 acres, purchased by his father, 3 Nov. 1738, from Margaret Grant, executrix of William Strother. The Captain may have added to the property, or he may have deemed its proximity to the new town as an equalization with the bequests to the other sons by his second wife. But he seems to have been conscious of some meagreness in his bequest to George, since he devised Mount Vernon to him if Lawrence should be without issue. The value of George's inheritance may be inferred from a letter to his mother, four years after her husband's death, from her half-brother Joseph in Lon-

don. He warns her against sending George to sea, as "a planter that has three or four hundred acres of land and three or four slaves," may do better. It is probable, however, that Capt. Augustine knew that his wife would give the larger of her farms (that on the Accokeek) to George, as she did. Its size may be estimated by the fact that the General paid, in 1760, quit-rents for 1250 acres in that region. (Worthington Ford, in *The Nation*, 19 Sep. 1889). This included the Accokeek lands, his own "Upper Place," opposite Fredericksburg, and his mother's "Little Falls," two miles lower.

The topography has points of interest. George, writing from his mother's home, 5 May 1749, to his half-brother Lawrence (in the House of Burgesses), says:

"As my mother's term of years is out at the place at Bridge Creek, she designs to settle a [Negro] quarter on the piece at Deep Run, but seems backward in doing it till the right is made good for fear of accident.—It is reported here that Mr. Spotswood intends to put down the ferry at the wharf where he now lives, and that Major Francis Taliaferro intends to petition the Assembly to have it kept from his house over against my mother's quarter, and through the very heart and best of the land. Whereas he can have no other view in it, than for the convenience of a small mill which he has on the water-side, that will not grind above three months in the twelve, and on account of the great inconvenience and prejudice it will be to us, I hope it will not be granted. Besides, I do not see where he can possibly have a landing-place on his side, that will ever be sufficient for a lawful landing, by reason of the steepness of the banks. I think we suffer enough from the free ferry, without being troubled with such an unjust and iniquitous petition as that; but I hope, as it is only a flying report, that he will consider better of it, and drop his pretensions."

By the assistance of Judge Wellford of Richmond, whose ancestors belonged to the region, and William A. Little of Fredericksburg, I have made out the following facts. The Ferry alluded to by Washington is described in 6 Hening p. 18 as "from the wharf above the mouth of Massaponax Creek

to the opposite landing upon Mr. Ball's land." The wharf on Spotswood's place "Nottingham" was fully four miles below Fredericksburg, and Taliaferro's ("Epsom") just above that, —both on the Spottsylvania side. The "Ball's Land" ("Traveller's Rest") contained 600 acres; Downman's ("Sherwood Forest") north of it 900 acres; next these being Mary Washington's "Little Falls," between which and the Wahsington Farm came the Strother Farm. Mr. A. K. Phillips, of Fredericksburg, writes: "I remember when the Washington Farm contained between 600 and 800 acres, and belonged to Col. Hugh Mercer, son of the General, but it has been sold off to different parties. My father told me that when he removed to Fredericksburg in 1806 the Washington house was standing. It was a plain wooden structure of moderate size, and painted a dark red color. The Strother farm a few miles below the Farm is known as 'Albion.' It is thought that long years ago the Washington Farm was a part of the Strother Farm, because there was found on the Washington tract a stone inscribed: 'John Strother, Gentleman,'—no doubt placed there by the old gentleman as a boundary mark. The Strother farm at present contains about 700 acres."

In the Will of Mary (of which a facsimile appears in the *Mag. Am. Hist.*, March 1887) she bequeathes the General her "lands on Accokeek Run in Stafford County." These I have identified as part of a tract now called "Furnace," on which are still traceable cinders of the old iron-works in which Captain Augustine Washington speculated so largely. It was one of five forges in Virginia and Maryland, which appear, by the Will of his son Lawrence, to be still bringing some profits in 1752. But Captain Augustine Washington might have made more by his ventures had he not died prematurely (aged 49). At any rate his widow and her five children were left poor. The half-brothers, who had been left the main properties, acted handsomely. Augustine took George, now

twelve years, to the old home in Westmoreland, and there sent him to school,—it is said to a Mr. Williams. There, however, he seems to have become restless, and probably returned to his mother in the summer of 1745. The winter's schooling was probably in Fredericksburg. It is certain that the summer of 1746 was passed at Mount Vernon, then recently built by his half-brother Lawrence, whose young wife was Anne, daughter of William Fairfax by his first wife, Sarah Walker.[1] This William Fairfax, kinsman and agent of Lord Fairfax, had married as his second wife Deborah Clarke, of Salem, Mass., with whom he settled in Westmoreland, Va., in 1734. He and Capt. Augustine Washington had migrated to the upper Potomac about the same time, 1735,—Fairfax fixing his abode at Belvoir (which some called Beaver, i.e. Beauvoir). In the said summer (1746) George passed a happy week at Belvoir. A letter from Mr. Fairfax to Lawrence mentioning the visit, and saying that George had promised to be "steady," suggests that there had been some youthful declaration of independence. George returned home and continued at school in Fredericksburg.

Fredericksburg was mainly settled by relatives of the Washingtons. Col. Harry Willis, chief founder of the town, *m.* first George's aunt, 2d. his cousin,—both christened Mildred Washington. This aunt had first *m.* Roger Gregory, their three daughters having *m.* three brothers Thornton in the neighborhood. Another founder of the town, John Lewis, was descended from Augustine Warner, whose daughter was

[1] "The family of Fairfax's in Virginia, of whom you speak, are also related to me by several intermarriages before it came into this country (as I am informed) and since."—*Washington to the Earl of Buchan*, 22 April 1793. (*Mag. Am. Hist.* Feb. 1888.) That all parties concerned were rather late in discovering this relationship (if it existed) may be supposed from the tenor of Joseph Ball's letter from London (1747) to his half-sister, Mary Washington, advising her not to send George to sea. He could not hope to be more than a common sailor, every higher post being sought for there (in England) by "those who have interest, and *he* [George] *has none*."

Gen. Washington's paternal grandmother. Thus at fifteen George was schoolmate of many cousins. The newly built church, St. George's, was under charge of a brilliant French Huguenot,—Rev. James Marye,—who had taken orders in London. He would naturally have charge of the first school also, and probably taught it. Dr. Toner, in his excellent edition of the "Rules of Civility," found in Washington's boyish writing, with the date 1745, shows probabilities that they were mainly his own composition. Some of the "Rules," however, resemble those in the Latin work (of the Jesuit Mussipontarius) "*Communis Vitæ inter homines scita urbanitas.*" Léonard Périn's translation of this book (1617) passed through several editions, and from it the Rev. James Marye may have instructed the boys of Fredericksburg in those rules of civility of which the school children of our own time are unfortunately left ignorant. On such basis the precocious boy may have built his "Rules;" for, though we must not forget that we are here under Old Style, according to which Washington was born in 1731, and in 1745 was fourteen,—he certainly was precocious. Major Byrd Willis,—whose towering form was a striking figure in the Fredericksburg of my boyhood,—grandson of Col. Harry Willis and Washington's aunt Mildred, says in a MS. (owned by his granddaughter Mrs. Tayloe of Fredericksburg): "My father, Lewis Willis, was a schoolmate of General Washington, his cousin, who was two years his senior. He spoke of the General's industry and assiduity at school as very remarkable. Whilst his brother and other boys at playtime were at bandy or other games he was behind the door ciphering. But one youthful ebullition is handed down while at that school, and that was romping with one of the largest girls; this was so unusual that it excited no little comment among the other lads."

Perhaps this romp was with Jane Strother, in whom and her sister Alice (daughters of William) the Washington chil-

dren had found their best playmates across the river. Jane married Hon. Thomas Lewis of Augusta Co., and Alice Robert Washington of Chotanck. Other neighbors were the Fitzhughs and the Alexanders. It may have been to one of the latter family that George wrote his boyish acrostic:

"From your bright sparkling eyes I was undone;
Rays you have more transparent than the Sun
Amidst its glory in the rising Day,
None can you equal in your bright array:
Constant in your calm and unspotted mind;
Equal to all, but will to none Prove kind,
So knowing seldom one so young you'll find.
Ah, woe's me that I should love and conceal
Long have I wished but never dare reveal,
Even though severely Love's Pain I feel;
Xerxes that great wan't free from Cupid's dart,
And all the greatest Heroes felt the smart."

"Alexa," however, was the abbreviation of Alexandria, and possibly the acrostic may be on some fair Fanny of that town. Various young ladies have been traditionally named as objects of George Washington's youthful love, but I can discover no evidence of any early passion save for his "Lowland Beauty;" and it is tolerably certain that this was either "Francis Alexa" of the acrostic, or Betsy Fauntleroy. The youthful letters which have raised so many fair claimants to the honor of having rejected Washington are known only in their writer's drafts. They are without date but bear indications of early 1749 (N. S.) when Washington was near seventeen. The similar phrases and allusions in the three letters prove them written about the same date. The Mrs. Fairfax alluded to was the Sally Cary, whose legendary love-affair with Washington is thus shown to have been impossible before her marriage, which occurred 17 Dec. 1748. Another hypothesis, that her sister Mary (who *m.* Edward Ambler in 1752) was the "Lowland Beauty," is disproved by the refer-

ence to her in the very letter containing that famous phrase, —the letter to "Dear Robin." The letter preceding this may have been to John, the son of Townshend Washington of "Greenhill" (now "Panorama," near the head of Chotanck Creek), grandson of Lawrence the immigrant. The Lawrence alluded to in it may have been John's twin brother, but more probably his (John's) first cousin Lawrence of Chotanck, mentioned in Washington's will as a friend of his juvenile years. The entire rough draft is given.

"Dear Friend John,

"As it is the greatest mark of friendship and esteem you can show to an absent Friend In often writing to him so hope youl not deny me that Favour as its so ardently wish't and desired by me. its the greatest pleasure I can yet forsee of having in fairfax to hear from my friends Particularly yourself was my affections disengaged I might perhaps form some pleasures in the conversasion of an agreeable young Lady as theres one now lives in the same house with me [*crossed out:* but as that only serves to make me more dull by putting me oftener in remembrance of the other] but as that's only nourishment to my former affec[t] for by often seeing her brings the other into my remembrance whereas perhaps was she not often (unavoidably) presenting herself to my view I might in some measure eleviate my sorrows by burying the other in the grave of oblivion I am well convinced my heart stands in defiance of all others but only she thats given it [*crossed out:* too much] cause enough to dread a second assault and from a different Quarter tho I well know let it have as many attacks as it will from others they cant be more fierce than it has been I could wish to know whether you have taken your intended trip downwards or not if you with what success as also to know how my friend Lawrence drives on in the art of courtship as I fancy you both nearly guess how it will respectively go with each of you."

The next letter is addressed to "Dear friend Robin,"— probably Robert Washington, of Chotanck, remembered in Washington's Will.

"My place of residence," he writes, "is at present at his lordship's, where I might, was my heart disengaged, pass my time very pleasantly as there's a very agreeable young lady lives in the same house (Col.

George Fairfax's wife's sister.) But as that's only adding fuel to fire, it makes me the more uneasy, for by often and unavoidably being in company with her revives my former passion for your Lowland beauty; whereas, was I to live more retired from young women, I might eleviate in some measure my sorrows by burying that chaste and troublesome passion in the grave of oblivion or etearnall forgetfulness, for as I am very well assured, that's the only antidote or remedy that I ever shall be relieved by or only recess that can administer any cure or help to me, as I am well convinced, was I ever to attempt anything, I should only get a denial which would be only adding grief to uneasiness."

The next letter is to a female confidant,—who may have been, Rev. Horace E. Hayden writes me, either of his young contemporaries and relatives, Sarah Ball, Sarah (Ball) Jones, or Sarah Conway (niece of Col. Edwin Conway, who married Mary Ball's half-sister). The fair alluded to was probably that of June, though there was also an annual October fair in Fredericksburg. The entire draft is here given.

"Dear Sally

"This comes to Fredericksburg fair in hopes of meeting with a speedy Passage to you if your not there which hope youl get shortly altho I am almost discouraged from writing to you as this is my fourth to you since I receivd any from yourself. I hope youl not make the Old Proverb good out of sight out of Mind as its one of the greatest Pleasures I can yet foresee of having in Fairfax in often hearing from you hope you'l not deny it me.

"I pass the time of much more agreable than what I imagined I should as there's a very agreeable young Lady lives in the said house where I reside (Col°. George Fairfax's wife's sister) which in a great measure chears my sorrow and dejectedness tho' not so as to draw my thoughts altogether from your Parts I could wish to be with you down there with all my heart but as it is a thing almost Impractakable shall rest myself where I am with hopes of shortly having some Minutes of your transactions in your Parts which will be very welcomely receiv'd by your"

We have, however, a letter of Washington in which is found the only name with which his youthful affections can

be safely associated. It is addressed to "William Fauntleroy Sr. in Richmond," (i.e. Richmond County, in which was Naylor's Hold, seat of the Fauntleroys).

"May 20, 1752.

"Sir,

"I should have been down long before this, but my business in Frederick detained me somewhat longer than I expected, and immediately upon my return from thence I was taken with a violent pleurise which has reduced me very low; but purpose as soon as I recover my strength, to wait on Miss Betsy, in hopes of a revocation of the former cruel sentence, and see if I cannot obtain an alteration in my favor. I have enclosed a letter to her, which should be much obliged to you for the delivery of it. I have nothing to add but my best respects to your good lady and family, and that I am, Sir,

"Y'r most ob'd't humble servant,

"G. Washington."

The first courtship of Betsy Fauntleroy, to whose grandfather this letter was written and sent (the original was once owned by Gov. Fitzhugh Lee) must have occurred before 28 Sept. 1751, when Washington accompanied his invalid brother Lawrence to the Barbadoes,—from which he returned in 1752, reaching Wakefield March 4, his mother the 5th; (journeying next day to Mount Vernon to bear Lawrence's wife tidings of her husband, and, it would appear, going to Frederick soon after to see after Lawrence's estates there). It will be seen then that having courted and been rejected by Miss Betsy when he was little over nineteen, if not earlier, there is good reason to identify her with the "Lowland Beauty" beloved at seventeen.

Betsy Fauntleroy, great-granddaughter of the famous cavalier Moore Fauntleroy, of Naylor's Hold, was in every respect a "Lowland Beauty." She married an Adams, and became the mother of the Hon. Thomas Adams. It is said that when, after her marriage, she saw her rejected lover,—now master of Mount Vernon and a famous Colonel,—riding into Williamsburg,—she fainted. But there is no reason to

suppose that she ever regretted her choice. To this disappointment we may ascribe the other sonnet by Washington:

"Oh Ye Gods why should my Poor resistless Heart
Stand to oppose thy might and Power
At last surrender to Cupid's feather'd Dart
And now lays bleeding every Hour
For her that's Pityless of my grief and Woes,
And will not on me Pity take.
I'll sleep among my most inveterate Foes
And with gladness never wish to wake,
In deluding sleepings let my Eyelids close
That in an enraptured dream I may
In a rapt lulling sleep and gentle repose
Possess those joys denied by Day."

The little poem was written by a poor youth, uneducated as compared with the Fauntleroys, who were graduated in Scottish universities. George Washington had been compelled to leave school at sixteen and earn his living. In this same pathetic little book is his first entry of a survey, "March 11, 1747/8." Then we have such notes as these:—

"March y^e^ 15, 1747/8. Survey'd for George Fairfax Esq^r^ a Tract of Land lying on Cate's Marsh and Long Marsh."

"Read to the Reign of K: John."

"In the Spectator Read to 143."

"Memorandum of what clothes I Carry into Fairfax. Razor.
7 Shirts 2 D^o^ Carr^d^ by Mr. Thornton
6 Linnen Waistcoats
1 Cloth Do
6 Bands
4 Neck Cloths
7 Caps."

"M. The regulator of my watch now is 4 m: and over the fifth from the Slow end."

"Twas perfect Love before
But now I do adore } S. Young M: A."

"Whats the noblest Passion of the Mind. Qy."

Tradition has made Washington's mother a "belle" in early life, and a saint in later years. President Jackson, who dedicated her monument at Fredericksburg (May, 1833), had received from Washington himself and others ample information. "She acquired and maintained," he said, "a wonderful ascendency over those around her. This true characteristic of genius attended her through life; and even in its decline, after her son had led his country to independence, he approached her with the same reverence she taught him to exhibit in early life. This course of maternal discipline no doubt restrained the natural ardor of his temperament and conferred upon him that power of self-command which was one of the remarkable traits of his character." Mary Washington hated to display any of her emotions. George Kiger, well remembered by the present writer, used to relate how he galloped a long way to bear a letter from Washington to his mother, in the latter part of the revolution. He found her in her garden in her usual short yellow gown, occupied with her vegetables. Kiger waited, but the old lady went on with her work, without opening the letter. At length the youth exclaimed, "Madam, this whole community is interested in that letter." Thereupon she opened the despatch, which announced a victory; but all the news she vouchsafed the messenger was the smiling remark, "George generally carries through anything he undertakes." The anecdote recalls one concerning the General, who had just begun a sitting for his portrait when despatches were brought. He glanced at them, and continued the sitting without remark. The despatches announced the capture of Burgoyne.

Historians, by the way, have overlooked a remarkable instance of Washington's self-command. When Cornwallis surrendered Washington saved him the humiliation of personally delivering up his sword; but Gen. O'Hara, who performed this task, repaid the magnanimity by offering the sword to Rochambeau, who stood at the head of a file of

French soldiers on the left, while Washington headed the Americans on the right. The Frenchman promptly refused to touch the sword, and O'Hara then offered it to Washington, who did not touch it, but said coldly, "Pass on." O'Hara was compelled to pass on between files of angry soldiers and deliver up the sword to a distant subaltern.

Local traditions say that Mary Washington could never think of George as other than "her boy," and that he either felt the same or humored her. On one occasion her servant told her that "Mars' George" had put up at the tavern. "Go and tell George to come here instantly!" she cried. The General presently appeared with his baggage, meek before her reproach, explaining that he could not feel certain that his sojourn with her would be convenient. Her small house in Fredericksburg could not accommodate Washington's family, and it had no stables; but he was careful, on proper occasions, to alight with his wife at his mother's door, the chariot being quietly taken around to Kenmore (the Lewis residence) where they also lodged.

An instance of his mother's habit of domestic dependence on Washington is shown in his letter to her from the camp at Will's Creek, in June 1755, while on the great Braddock campaign (printed by E. E. Hale):

"Hon'd Madam," he writes, "I was favored with your letter, by Mr. Dick, and am sorry it is not in my power to provide you with a Dutch servant, or the butter, agreeably to your desire. We are quite out of the part of the country where either is to be had, there being few or no inhabitants where we now lie encamped, and butter cannot be had here to supply the wants of the army." "I hope," he also says, "you will spend the chief part of your time at Mount Vernon, as you have proposed to do, where I am certain every thing will be ordered as much to your satisfaction as possible, in the situation we are in there."

In a letter to her brother Joseph, in London, 26 July 1759, the mother writes: "There was no end to my troubles while

George was in the army, but he has now given it up." (*Am. Hist. Mag.*, i. p. 413.) Another letter to the same (loaned me by Dr. Emmet) contains interesting items.

"July the 2, 1760.

"Dear Brother, this Coms by Cap^{t} Nickelson You Seem to blam me for not writing to you butt I doe a Shour you it is Note for wante of a very great Regard for you & the family butt as I Dont Ship tobacco the Captins Never Calls one me Soe that I Never knows when tha Come or when tha goe. I believe you have got a very good overseer at this quarter now Cap^{t} Newton has taken a large peace of grownd from you which I dear say if you had been hear your Self it had not been Don Mr. Danial & his wife & family is well Cozen Hannah has been married & Lost her husband She has one Child a boy pray give my Love to Sister Ball & Mr. Downman [Joseph Ball's son-in law] & his Lady & am Dear Brother

Your Loving Sister

Mary Washington."

The "Mr. Danial" alluded to in the above note was Mr. Peter Daniel, a magistrate of Stafford County, who resigned rather than enforce the Stamp Act; he married the daughter of Hannah (Ball) Travers, Mary Washington's half-sister. The "Newton Farm" is still known in the neighborhood.

The next letter was sent me by my late brother, Richard M. Conway. It is without date, and addressed to her son John Augustine Washington, Bushfield, Westmoreland, Va.

"Dear Johnne,—I am glad to hear you and all the family is well, and should be glad if I could write you the same. I am a going fast, and it, the time, is hard. I am borrowing a little Cornn—no Cornn in the Cornn house. I never lived soe poore in my life. Was it not for Mr. French and your sister Lewis I should be almost starved, but I am like an old almanack quite out of date. Give my love to Mrs. Washington—all the family. I am dear Johnne your loving and affectionate Mother.

"P.S. I should be glad to see you as I dont expect to hold out long."

Dr. Toner, on my account of this letter, suggests that it was written in the troubled year preceding the revolution, before her children persuaded her to move into Fredericksburg. I have not been able to trace her on the farm across the river later than 1772, but she certainly remained there long after her children had left, and despite their desire that she should dwell with them.[1] In the grumbling letter is reflected her horror of dependence. The house in Fredericksburg, still standing, is small but preserves traces of the neat home arranged for her. The lot adjoins Kenmore. As the place is not mentioned in her Will it probably belonged to Col. Fielding Lewis or the General. A chariot, phaeton, three horses, and six negroes were among her bequests.

A few hundred yards from Kenmore Mary Washington was buried. It is a picturesque place, with a cluster of trees shading gravestones, chiefly of the Gordons, who so long occupied Kenmore. Tradition points out a rock overlooking the vale as the spot where the aged mother of Washington was wont to repair for meditation. Near this stands her monument, whose unfinished condition gave rise to a magazine romance which some have taken seriously. It is said that a maiden of Fredericksburg plighted her troth on condition that her suitor should build a monument over her relative, the Mother of Washington; but before it was completed her lover was jilted and the work stopped. As a matter of fact the work was generously undertaken by Mr. Burroughs, a citizen of New York, whose failure in business caused the cessation of work. The monument stood in a

[1] By his first wife, Jane Butler, Augustine Washington had children: 1. Butler (*d.* infant); 2. Augustine (*m.* Anne Aylett); 3. Lawrence (*m.* Anne Fairfax); 4. Jane (*d.* infant). Of the issue by Mary Ball, George *m.* Martha Dandridge Custis; Betty *m.* Col. Fielding Lewis; Samuel *m.* successively Jane Champe, Mildred Thornton, Lucy Chapman, Anne Steptoe, Mrs. Perrin,—dying in 1781, aged 47; Jno. Augustine *m.* Hannah Bushrod; Charles *m.* Mildred Thornton;—the 6th child, Mildred, *d.* infant.

centre of the battles which raged in and around Fredericksburg, during the Civil War; it is of pretty design, and striking in the distance, but scarred with shot and shell,—a dismal memorial indeed. Beside it lies the long marble spire which in May 1833 a procession, headed by President Jackson, followed to the spot with patriotic rejoicings.

It may be that from his mother and plebeian grandmother (as I suppose) the Widow Johnson, Washington derived a certain strain of blood which, at the first gun of independence, was strong enough to bid farewell to his aristocratic friends at Belvoir and Williamsburg palace, and take the side of the people.

Mary Washington has been suspected of "Toryism" because she hated war; declared "this fighting and killing" a bad business, and wished that "George would come home and attend to his plantation." The spirit which animated her crude utterances was Washington's best inheritance from his mother. It is a fine omen on the new world's horizon that its great commander was a man of peace. An arbitrator of the playground in boyhood, his first commissions were for peaceful negotiations with the Indians and the French. There was, indeed, a spirit of adventure in him; but it found satisfaction in the chase, and in exploring the wilderness. Miss Jessie Stabler, of Sandy Spring Md., sends me an extract from the letter-book of her great-great-grandfather, Edward Stabler, a leading Quaker at Petersburg Va. in the last century. Under date of "12 mo: 20th. 1756," he writes to English Friends:

"In the Spring there was an Act made for Drafting the Militia by Lot, in which Friends were not exempted but on whomsoever the Lot fell upon were obliged to go as Soldiers or pay £10 to hire another man in their stead, & I am sorry to say the generallity of Friends complyed with it. Except seven young men who would not comply to go nor hire another in their stead, & so were taken by Force & carried over the Mountains to the Army, & after they had been there

some time I understood they were like to meet with cruel usage if they did not comply to bear arms & tho' most Friends acknowledged it would be right for some to visit them yet none seemed forward to go as it appeared dangerous to travail over the Mountains at that time, the Indians having done much mischief in them parts yet I could not be easy in my own mind without going myself, & use what endeavours I was capable of for their release out of Prison where they had been kept close confined for about 10 weeks, I had several good opportunities with Coll. Washington to open our principles to him & reasons why we could not be active in the carrying on of War. he seemed very moderate before we parted & inclined to favor them, but said as they were sent to him by the Government he could not release them and had rec'd orders from the Gov.r to have them Whipped every day 'till they would comply. I requested him to omit putting the Govr's orders in execution 'till I could go & speak with him (w.ch was upward of 250 miles part of the way through an uninhabited country & over very high Mountains) & four more Friends accompanied me to the Gov.r we had a great deal of Discourse wth him & he promised us he would write to Coll. Washington to be favourable to them, w.ch he did—I got them releas'd out of Prison when I was there, & to have liberty to go to some Friends Houses that liv'd about 5 or 6 miles distant upon being bound for their appearance there when the Coll. rec'd other orders from the Gov.r but they were not called upon afterwards nor anything required of them."

In sending the above Miss Jessie Stabler adds:

"I heard Mr. Henry Stabler of this neighborhood tell another story of Washington and the Friends. Warner Mifflin was on a committee to remonstrate with President Washington about War, and during the conversation, remarked that the advantages gained by War do not compensate for the loss of life and limb. Washington thought for some minutes and then said, 'Mr. Mifflin, there is more in that than most people are willing to admit.'"

When Washington and his wife met, the days of romance were perhaps over for both of them, but they grew together. At her "Six Chimney House," Williamsburg, where the honeymoon passed, Martha planted a Yew which remains, and is a fair symbol of her never-failing loyalty and devotion.

"A most amiable woman," wrote S. Johnston to James Iredell (1790); "if I live much longer I shall at last be reconciled to the company of old women for her sake." Her husband's frank admirations excited no jealousy. The Hon. Jasper Yates writes to his wife: "Mr. Washington once told me, on a charge which I once made against the President at his own table, that the admiration he warmly professed for Mrs. Hartley was a proof of his Homage to the worthy part of the Sex, and highly respectful to his wife." But she was, in the old sense homely as she was comely. While following her husband to the field she longed, even amid plaudits, for home. She writes to her brother from Philadelphia (2 Nov. 1778):

"I am very uneasy at this time—I have some reason to think that I shall take another trip to the northward—the poor General is not likely to come to see us, from what I can hear. I expect to hear certainly by the next Post. If I doe I shall write to inform you and my friends. If I am soe happy as to stay at home I shall hope to see you with my sisters as soon as you are at leisure. Please to give Patty a kiss for me. I have sent her a pair of shoes. There wasn't a doll to be got in the city of Philadelphia or I would have sent her one."

Mr. Ferdinand Dreer of Philadelphia has a letter of Martha Washington (it appeared in *Harper's Magazine*, April 1889,) written, the year after her marriage, to her sister Anna (Mrs. Burwell Bassett) congratulating her on the birth of a girl—"I wish I could say boy as I know how much one of that sex was desired by you all"—she adds: "I think myself in a better state of helth than I have been in for a long time and dont dout but I shall present you a fine healthy girl again when I come doun in the Fall which is as soon as Mr. W——ns business will suffer him to leave home."

This longing for a daughter at the moment of desiring for her sister a son is pathetically suggestive. The great soldier loved to have little Patsy and Nelly nestling at his side, and

the unsatisfied paternal longing of his great heart was keenly felt by his wife.[1]

The following was written to Mrs. Fanny Washington, then keeping house at Mount Vernon :

New York Oct. the 22d 1789

"My Dear Fanny,—I have by Mrs. Sims sent you a watch ; it is one of the cargoe that I have so long mentioned to you, that was expected, I hope is such a one as will please you—it is of the newest fashion, if that has any influence on your tast, the chain is of Mr. Lears choosing and such as Mrs. Adams the Vice presidents lady and those in the polite circle wear.

"Mrs. Sims will give you a better account of the fashions than I can—I live a very dull life hear and know nothing that passes in the town—I never goe to any public place—indeed I think I am more like a State prisoner than anything else ; there is certain bounds set for me which I must not depart from—and as I cannot doe as I like, I am obstinate and stay at home a great deal.

"The President set out this day week on a tour to the eastward ; Mr. Lear and Major Jackson attended him—my dear children has had very bad colds but thank god they are getting better. My love and

---

[1] Washington's tenderness towards children is traceable in many a flower along the track of war. One instance which has not been published I have found among the papers of Gen. Artemas Ward, in the possession of his descendant Mr. Alfred Dix of New York. At a time when the British in Boston were using non-combatants to convey correspondence to abettors outside, Washington made a rigid order that none should enter or come out of the city. But one day an appeal came to Cambridge that a little child might be taken into Boston to receive medical care. The order was returned: "His Excellency desires that when Mr. Loring's child is brought in order to go into Boston that you will have its cloaths examined lest there should be letters concealed in them." The poet who so long wrote hymns of peace in Craigie House, where Washington gave that order, would have left us a lyric of the incident, had he known it. Washington was known to have gone out of his way to warn children, eager to gaze at the soldiers, that they were in danger,—generally patting them kindly on the head. In the biography of Judge Phillips of Andover, it is related that when Washington breakfasted in that town (5 Nov. 1789), "he asked the little daughter of Deacon Abbot to mend his riding-glove for him; and when she had done it, took her upon his knee and gave her a kiss; which so elated Miss Priscilla that she would not allow her face to be washed again for a week." But a similar story, glove included, is recorded of his visit to Haverhill!

good wishes attend you and all with you—remember me to Mr. and Mrs L. Wn [Lund Washington] how is the poor child—kiss Marie I send her two little handkerchiefs to wipe her nose. Adue."

The Lewis family, so intimately connected with Washington, is not of any known relationship to the Lewises who founded Augusta Co. Va. Its ancestor in Virginia was Gen. Robert Lewis, of Brecon, Wales, who in 1650 obtained a grant in Gloucester Co. Va. of 33,333⅓ acres. His son John, educated in England, married Elizabeth (daughter of Augustine and Mildred) Warner, and built "Warner Hall"—the great mansion of twenty-six rooms in Gloucester. Major John Lewis, eldest son of John of "Warner Hall," *m.* Frances Fielding (supposed surname) who *d.* 1731; her husband lived until 1754. This Major John Lewis was the lawyer with whom Chancellor Wythe studied, and a member of Council. He was the "John Lewis, Gentleman," who, with Col. Harry Willis, laid out the site of Fredericksburg in 1727. Major John and Frances (Fielding) Lewis had four sons: Warner, *b.* 7 Oct. 1720; John, *b.* 1723; Fielding, *b.* 7 July 1725; Charles, *b.* 25 Feb. 1729.

Col. Fielding Lewis of "Kenmore," third son of Major John, became an active citizen of Fredericksburg in its early days, and is said in its official annals to have owned nearly half of the town. In 1746 he *m.* Catharine Washington,—great-granddaughter of the above-named Augustine Warner, his (Fielding's) great-grandfather. (Lawrence Washington, the General's grandfather, *m.* Mildred Warner.) Issue of Col. Fielding and Catharine (Washington) Lewis:

1. John, *b.* 22 June 1747; his uncle John Lewis and Charles Dick, Godfathers; and Mrs. Mary Washington and Mrs. Lee, Godmothers. He *m.* five times,—1st (1768) and 2nd (1770) widows named Thornton, his cousins; 3, (1773) a daughter of the eminent lawyer Gabriel and Margaret (Strother) Jones; 4, (1785) Mrs. Armistead, *née* Fountaine; 5, Mrs. Mercer dau. of Landon Carter. By three of these wives he had families, and his descendants are numerous, especially in Kentucky, where he settled.—Col. Fielding and Catharine (Washington) Lewis had 2. Frances, *b.* 25 Nov. 1748; Fielding Lewis and George

Washington, Godfathers; Miss Hannah Washington and Mrs. Jackson, Godmothers. Without issue. 3. Warner, *b.* 29 Nov. 1749; his uncle John Lewis and Capt. Bagley Seaton, Godfathers; Mrs. Mildred Seaton, Godmother. Died 5 Dec. 1749.

Some entries in the Lewis Family Bible at Marmion were made after the adoption of New Style (1752), and this must be borne in mind to avoid confusion. Thus, Catharine Lewis *d.* 19 Feb. 1749–50; but on 7 May 1750, Col. Fielding Lewis *m.* his second wife, Betty Washington. A year must be added to that and the birth dates of the next two children.. Issue: 1. Fielding, *b.* 14 Feb. 1751; George Washington and Robert Jackson, Godfathers; Mrs. Mary Washington and Mrs. Frances Thornton, Godmothers. Married in Fairfax settled in Frederick Co., Va.; his son G. W. Lewis mentioned in Washington's diary as visiting Mount Vernon 1787. 2. Augustin, *b.* 22 Jan. 1752; his uncles Charles Lewis and Charles Washington, Godfathers; his aunt Lucy Lewis, and Mrs Mary Taliaferro, Godmothers. Died infant. 3. Warner, *b.* 24 June 1755; his uncle Charles Washington and Col. John Thornton, Godfathers; Mrs. Mildred Willis and Mrs. Mary Willis, Godmothers. Died infant. 4. George, *b.* 14 March 1757; Charles Yates and Lewis Willis, Godfathers; Mrs. Mary Dick and his mother, Godmothers. He married (1779) Catharine Daingerfield of Spottsylvania, was distinguished as a soldier, and was bequeathed one of Washington's swords, now in the possession of his grandson, Capt. Henry Howell Lewis of Baltimore. Mr. Byrd Lewis, an eminent lawyer of Washington, is his great-grandson. 5. Mary, *b.* 22 April 1759; Samuel Washington and Lawrence Washington, Godfathers; Mrs. Washington and Miss Mary Thornton, Godmothers. Died infant. 6. Charles, *b.* 3 Oct. 1760; Gen. George Washington and Roger Dixon, Godfathers; Mrs. Mary Washington and Mrs. Lucy Dixon, Godmothers. 7. Samuel, *b.* 14 May 1763; Rev. Musgrave Dawson and Judge Joseph Jones, Godfathers; Mrs. Dawson and Mrs. Jones, Godmothers. Died infant. 8. Betty, *b.* 23 Feb. 1765; Rev. Thomas Kice and Warner Washington, Godfathers; Mrs. Hannah Washington and Miss Frances Lewis, Godmothers. Married Charles Carter of Culpeper Co. 9. Lawrence, *b.* 4 April 1767; Charles Washington and Francis Thornton, Godfathers; Mrs. Mary Dick, Godmother. Married Nelly Custis. His descendants live chiefly at "Audley," Clark Co., Va., the Hon. Edward P. C. Lewis, late Minister to Portugal, being his grandson. 10. Robert, *b.* 25 June 1769; George Thornton and Peter Marye, Godfathers; Miss Mildred Willis and Mrs. Ann Lewis, Godmothers. See, in this Volume, pp. 53, 305. He died in

This engraving is taken from the portrait of Betty Washington only sister of the General who married Col Fielding Lewis. One of the original Portraits at Marmion

The residence of the late Dangerfield Lewis of [illegible] King George Co. Va. One other at the residence of the late [illegible] Lorenzo Lewis of Clarke Co. Va. & one in my possession

Lee M. Washington

1829, the 4th year of his mayoralty of Fredericksburg, during which office he welcomed Lafayette (*Mag. Am. Hist.*, Jan. 1888). 11. Howell, *b.* 12 Dec. 1771; Judges Joseph Jones and James Mercer, Godfathers; Miss Mary and Miss Milly Dick, Godmothers. See, in this volume, pp 10, 293.

It is one of the many curiosities of Washington portraiture that the portrait of Betty Lewis at "Marmion" (probably by Woolaston) should be going about the world as that of Martha, General Washington's wife! There are portraits representing Martha Washington at all ages, and it appears inconceivable that any one could discover a resemblance between her and the portrait published as hers in Sparks (i. p. 106), in the "Republican Court," and even in the centennial *Century Magazine*, April, 1889. How this delusion originated one can hardly conjecture. I have asked several artists whether they could imagine the Martha Washington in the last volume of Sparks identical at any period of her life with her so called in the first, and they have declared it unimaginable. The accompanying copy of the misnamed picture in Sparks bears an inscription from the late Col. Lewis W. Washington, written in the home and in the presence of my friend Frederick McGuire of Washington. In 1855 Col. Lewis Washington made a special study of the family portraits, and his judgment as well as his information are trustworthy. He corresponded with many members of the Washington and Lewis families then living and comparatively near to the sources of information; among others with G. W. Parke Custis, who has been supposed, no doubt erroneously, to be responsible for the mistake of Sparks. In one of his letters (4 Aug. 1855) Mr. Custis says: "Mrs. Lewis, the only sister, whom I very well remember, was the most majestic and imposing-looking female I ever beheld, and she was very dearly beloved by the great man. There is a good portrait of her." The portrait alluded to is certainly that copied in this volume. The original at Marmion (the Lewis

homestead in King George), is beside its companion-picture, that of Col. Fielding Lewis. Fine copies of both are in the possession of Captain Williams of New York, a descendant of the family. Another copy of Betty Lewis's portrait, now at Mount Vernon, is probably that alluded to by Col. Lewis Washington as in his possession,—placed there, I believe, by his widow, Mrs. Ella Bassett Washington, a vice-Regent of Mount Vernon.

In another letter (4 March 1857) to Col. Lewis Washington, Mr. Custis tells the following anecdote:

"When in 1781 the Chief, accompanied by the Count de Rochambeau, was *en route* for New York, following close upon the rear of the French army, he halted in Fredericksburg, and, having consigned the Count to the best hotel of the village, the Commander-in-Chief hastened to the residence of his sister. The lady had gone out to visit a neighbor. Judge of her surprise when, on her return, she saw that her pleasant mansion and the area around it—the abode of peace, domestic happiness, and liberal hospitality—had suddenly assumed 'the pomp and circumstance of glorious war.' She entered the mansion, where her servants, struck dumb with amazement, could only point to her chamber door. She rushed in, and there discovered her beloved brother stretched upon her bed and asleep. She uttered a wild exclamation of surprise and joy."

In 1773 Col. Fielding Lewis was chosen a member of the House of Burgesses. The defect in his eye prevented his entering the field in the Revolution. His title "Colonel" was probably earned by his activity in the manufacture of arms at the "Gunnery" established by the Assembly in his town, whose patriotic ladies made cartridges while their male relatives were in the field. Col. Lewis freely advanced his means in this work and was never repaid except in depreciated paper. However he had large lands in the West. He died in Jan. 1781, and was buried in the vestibule of St. George's Church, of which he was a vestryman. Washington's diaries and letters show his affection for this brother-in-law, and con-

fidence in his judgment. The portrait of Col. Fielding Lewis at Marmion, a companion to that of his wife, shows that his veracity would not allow the artist to omit the defective eye. He was an able man, and his descendants, known in every part of this country, are generally persons of character and influence.

For most of the following letters of Washington and the Lewises I am indebted to Luther Kountze, Esq. The letters of Col. Fielding Lewis are both to Washington. In the first (6 March 1776), he says:

"Our nine Regements are nearly compleat and our people seem to be fond of entring into the service. Col° [Patrick] Henry has resigned his Commis° which I believe most people are well pleased with, as his acquaintance in the military service was little. Clinton has been here with his men, stay'd a few Days, & is gone it's said to S° Carolina & taken some of the Kings Ships that were here with him. We expect Lord Dunmore is recalled as he has offer'd his service and request to be sent home as a mediator. Our Committee of Safety are too well acquainted with his Lordships abilitys and friendship for this Colony to intrust a matter of so much importance to one of his insignificancy, nor would they were his Ability ever so great take a step of that sort without the sanction of Congress. Norfold is totally distroyed not one House remaining. Gosport Mr. Sprowls seat has shared the same fate. Portsmouth is safe; we have men at the great Bridge & Kemps Landing, little for them to do. The opinion for independentcy seems to be gaining ground; indeed most of those who have read the Pamphlet Common Sense say it's unanswerable. Our Manufactory has not yet made one Musquet; the Hands have been imployed in repairing the old Gunns from the Magazine which L^d^ Dunmore took the Locks from, and repairing the Gunns belonging to the several Companys that have passed thro' this Town. We have a great many Barrells ready forged which we are now preparing for the Stockers; our men had the business to learn, begin to be expert at Lock making about Thirty of which pr week we now make that are equal to the English; and what Barrells are ready I think are better. The Tory Factors are leaving of us daily, few will remain in a month, or two. Mrs. Lewis joins me in our Love to Mrs. Washington & the Family. I am Dear Sir your most Affectionate &c.

"In my last I requested you would furnish George with any Cloths &c. he may have occasion for and yr. order should be paid for the amount on sight." [His son Major Geo. Lewis was in the army.]

In connection with the following letter one of Washington (owned by the N. Y. Hist. Soc., published in Mag. Am. Hist., August 1879), Morristown 5 May 1780 will be found interesting. In it he writes Col. Fielding Lewis of a letter received from Col. Fairfax, who had heard his property was confiscated, which Washington pronounces, if true, "a cruel proceeding as the uniform tenor of his conduct has been friendly to the rights of this country—his going to England the result of necessity and before hostilities either commenced or were thought of, and his return with his family in a manner impracticable."

The letter of Col. F. Lewis is dated 4 April 1780.

"I wrote you about eight Days since before I rec^{d} yours of the 1st & 2d March which came by the Post last Fryday. You judged right with regard to our paper Currency, as I find by a late resolution of Congress that it's reduced to one fortieth part of it's nominal value. This regulation I suppose was necessary, however unjust it may appear to the world; after the assurances lately given by Congress in their publication, I did not expect so great a discont as forty for one would have so soon taken place, altho' I expected something of the sort must have happened for the preservation of the Landed Interest which never could have paid the enormous debt we now are involved in & daily increasing. I cannot say but I shall be among the sufferers on this occasion, alltho' I have in some manner lessen'd it by the purchase of Thirty Thous^{d} Acres Land to the westward where my son John now is, in order to locate and secure it for me. I have some thoughts of purchasing Twenty Thous^{d} acres more before our Assembly meets, alltho' I am apprehensive that Warrants have allready issued sufficient to secure allmost the whole of the valuable Lands in that Country from Pittsburg to the Green River. I suppose five million of acres are allready granted; never was so fine a Country sold for so trifling a sum as those Lands will bring into the Treasury, beside the great injury this State will sustain by the great numbers of our most active men going those who should have remained here for the defence of

the State and assisted in the present dispute with G. Britain. We have a report here that a vessel is just arrived from the Havanna the Cap^{t} of w^{ch} reports that six days before he sailed a Fleet with 4000 Soldiers had sailed from thence either for Pensicola or S. Carolina, we have no late news from the Southward.

"I wish it was in my power to render any service to Col^{o} Fairfax by superintending his business; my bad state of health prevents my paying that attention to my own that it requires, therefore cannot undertake his, as it would not be in my power to do him any tolerable justice. I believe little has been done for the Colonel since he left the State, and I am fearful that it will be a difficult matter getting that Estate under good management; from the Candor of Mr. Francis Whiting (who managed Mr. Fitzhughs Est. at Ravensworth) if he will undertake the matter I think that Estate would soon be brought under better management; and Col^{o} Fairfax paying a generous price for such service will be for his advantage. I do not know another man that I think will answer the purpose so well if he will undertake it, being a good judge of those matters. If I can be of any service in prevailing on Mr. Whiting or any other person that you, or I may think capable of serving Col^{o} Fairfax I will cheerfully undertake the matter; at present I don't know but it may be necessary to change those who have at present the direction of that business, if it can be done at this late season for another Crop. Mrs. Lewis joins me in our Love to you & Mrs. Washington; she is obliged to Mrs. Washington for the trouble in sending her muslin to Bethlehem."

The next letter is from Betty Lewis to her brother, at the time when he was recovering from a carbuncle. It appears that their mother—who died a month after this letter was written—suffered something of the same kind. The address on the letter is: "George Washington. President of the United States. New York.—Fav'd by Mr. C. Urquhart."

"July 24: 1789.

"My Dear Brother

"We have been extreamly concern'd at hearing of your late illness, but the arrival of Roberts last letter brought us the agreable information that the Doctors had Pronounc'd you would shortly be able to ride out.—When I had last the Pleasure of seeing you I

observ'd your fondness for Honey; I have got a large Pot of very fine in the comb, which I shall send by the first oppertunity.

"I am sorry to inform you My Mother's Breast still continues bad. God only knows how it will end; I dread the Consequence; she is sensible of it & is Perfectly resign'd—wishes for nothing more than to keep it easy.—She wishes to hear from you; she will not believe you are well till she has it from under your hand.—The Doctors think if thay could get some Hemloc it would be of Service to her Breast; if you Could Precure som there Mr. Urquhart will bring it for her, there is none to be got hear.—Your Relations all join me in love and good wishes to you and Sister Washington & believe me Your Affe^{et} Sister

BETTY LEWIS."

"New York, Oct. 12th 1789

"MY DEAR SISTER,

"Your letter of the first of this month came duly to hand.—I believe Bushrod is right with respect to the distribution of the negroes—When I gave my opinion that you were entitled to a child's part it did not occur to me that my Mother held them under the will of my Father who had made a distribution of them after her death.—If this is the case, and I believe it is, you do not come in for any part of them.

"I thought I had desired in my former letter that all personal property not specifically disposed of by the will had better be sold. This is my opinion as it is from the Crops and personal Estate that the Debts must be paid.—The surplus, be it more or less, is divided among her children; and this I presume had better be done in money than in Stock, old furniture or any other troublesome articles which might be inconvenient to remove, but in one or the other of these ways they must be disposed of, as they are not given by the Will.—If there is anything coming to the estate it ought to be collected.—In a word, all the property except Lands and negroes is considered as personal, and after the Debts are discharged is to be equally divided into five parts one of which five you are entitled to.

"A sort of epidemical cold has seized every [*illegible*] under it—hitherto I have escaped and propose in two or three days to set out for Boston by way of relaxation from business and re-establishment of my health after the long and tedeous complaint with which I have been afflicted, and from which it is not more than ten days I have been recovered, that is since the incision which was made by the Doctors for this imposthume on my thigh has been cured.

"Mrs. Washington joins me in every good wish for you and our other relations in Fredericksburg. And I am

My dear Sister

Your most affectionate Brother

G°. WASHINGTON."

The next letter has been sent me by Capt. George Washington Ball. Both of the gentlemen to whom it was written had married nieces of Washington: Col. Burgess Ball *m. dau.* of Charles Washington; Charles Carter, Jr., *m. dau.* of Betty Lewis.

"New Haven 18th Oct. 1789

"DEAR SIRS:

"Having set out on a tour through the Eastern States, it was at this place your letter of the 8th inst. over-took me.

"Not having my father's will to recur to, when I wrote to my sister, nor any recollection of the Devises in it, I supposed she was entitled to a child's part of the negros, but, if they were otherwise disposed of, by that Will (as I believe is the case) she is certainly excluded, and the sons only and their representatives come in.—In this manner the division must be made.—

"Everything of personal property not specifically disposed of by my Mother's Will, had better be sold—with the proceeds of which, and the crops, the Debts must be paid. The surplus, if any, must be divided among the heirs.

"Being well convinced that the Gentlemen who were so obliging as to examine and set a value upon my Lots, acted from their best judgment, I am perfectly satisfied with their decision, and beg my thanks may be presented to them for the trouble they have had in this business.

"If they are not already sold, I am willing to allow three, instead of two years credit for the payment of the purchase money, Interest being paid. In a word, as I do not want to tenant them, I should be glad to sell them on *any reasonable terms:* as that kind of property, at a distance, is always troublesome, and rarely productive.

"I did not mean to give Mr. Mercer the trouble of stating any formal opinion—All I had in view was to know if the formalities of the law, with respect to Inventorying, appraising &c. could be dispensed with. —If it could, I was sure no other difficulty would arise, as I knew my

Mother's dealings were small, and the business consequently easily closed.

"I am exceedingly sorry to hear of the loss the Country has sustained from frost. The crops of corn in this State (Connecticut), along the road I have travelled, are abundantly great.

"I offer my best thanks to you for your kind services—and my best wishes to my nieces, and your families,—and, with sincere esteem and regard,

I am your most obed^{t} and affect^{te} H^{ble} servt.

G : Washington."

Although it was necessary that Washington, as his mother's executor, should recognize the fact that his sister had been somewhat left in the cold by their parents' Wills, he gave her the only assistance she needed—namely, a helping hand to her sons. To Mr. Howell L. Lovell, Covington, Ky., a great-grandson of Betty Lewis, I am indebted for the following letter to her youngest son,—Howell, then just entered on his twenty-first year :

"Philadelphia April 8th, 1792.

"My Dear Sister,

"If your son Howell is living with you, and not usefully employed in your own affairs;—and should incline to spend a few months with me, as a writer in my office (if he is fit for it) I will allow him at the rate of Three hundred dollars a year, provided he is diligent in discharging the duties of it from breakfast until dinner—Sundays excepted.—This sum will be punctually paid him and I am particular in declaring beforehand what I require, and what he may expect, that there may be no disappointment, or false expectations on either side.—He will live in the family in the same manner his brother Robert did.—If the offer is acceptable he must hold himself in readiness to come on immediately upon my giving him notice.—I take it for granted that he writes a fair and legible hand, otherwise he would not answer my purpose ; as it is for recording letters, and other papers I want him.—That I may be enabled to judge of his fitness let him acknowledge the receipt of this letter with his own hand, and say whether he will accept the offer here made him, or not.—If he does, and I find him qualified from the specimen he gives in his letter I will immediately desire him to come on which he must do without a moments delay, or I shall be obliged to provide another instead of him.

"Mrs Washington unites with me in best wishes, and love for you and yours and

I am—My dear Sister
Your most affecte Brother
Go Washington."

"21st November, 1798

"I believe you have been informed of my wish to have some appointment in the army—young in the art of war, my views are by no means ambitions; to you I submit it, to place me in any situation, that in your judgment shall be best. Should I be fortunate enough to obtain an appointment; I can affirm a full determination of doing my duty, for by so doing only, can a Officer expect to gain respect. My health is much as it was when you left us, every now and then having a return of the ague which prevents my gaining flesh or strength tho I am happy to inform you I am nearly restored to the perfect use of my eye.

"The family joins me in best wishes for your health, and safe returne.
I am dear Uncle your affectionate nephew
Lawrence Lewis."

The next letter of Lawrence to Washington is dated 10 Jan. 1799 at Charlestown,—which was founded by Charles Washington.

"I have this day been to see my Uncle Charles and family; was happy to find his health much better than it had been represented to me on the Rode up, he has been very unwell ever since the Winter commenced, but at present is as well as his mode of living will admit. My Aunt is in good health; and with my Uncle desires to be remembered to you and my Aunt.

"As I now flatter myself, no objection as to the state of health can be made to my union with Miss Eleanor on the 22nd of Febry (the day first fixt on by us) that my dear uncle's concurrence will not be wanting as to the time proposed and that he will excuse my appearance one week sooner at Mount Vernon, than the time which was thought necessary for my journey."

Lawrence's desire to be married on the General's birthday was fulfilled.

The next letter was written to Robert Lewis while he was at Mount Vernon, date Philadelphia 7 March 1793.

"I would not have you seek (at least apparently) Major Harrison; but if you should, or could conveniently fall in with him soon, and without forcing the conversation, talk to him again on the subject of his land adjoining me, and extract anything farther from him on the subject thereof that might be useful to me, I should be glad to know it. The enclosed letter to Mr. (?) from Mr. Chichester, the only person (except Thomson Mason, his son in law, who also has *poor* tenanted land adjoining Harrisons) that can in my opinion step forward as a competitor, shows his ideas of the value of it;—but altho' this may be the *intrinsic* worth, yet, circumstances considered, I would give more for it, if it is unincumbered with leases, than the sum therein ment^{d} or would give by way of Exchange lands in Kentucky for it.

"I expect to be at home before the 5th of April—and shall probably take Fairfax Court (which I think is on the 15th of that month) on my way back to this city—between these dates if Mr. Harrison would call upon me at Mount Vernon with his Papers the bargain if made at all might be concluded. I cannot, as I expect to take the meeting of the Comm^{rs} of the Federal District at George Town (about the first of Apr^{l}) will be at home before the 5th, nor will public business allow me to stay there longer than the 15th; The last being necessary on acc^{t} of the Will of my dec^{d} Nephew Major Washington which I expect will be proved at that time. I shall come home alone, for these purposes and to look into some matters of my own which require attention."

After leaving Mount Vernon Robert Lewis resided in Fauquier, and was Washington's financial agent and collector. The following is an extract from one of Washington's letters to him:

"Mount Vernon 7th Oct^{r} 1795

"As land has risen so much, and so suddenly in its price, and my rents bear no proportion thereto; I shall insist, and beg that you will see, not only that the rents are punctually paid, but that *all* the covenants in the leases, with respect to buildings, planting orchards, making meadows, reserving certain proportions of the land in wood &c. &c. are strictly complied with—and I further desire that in cases of life leases, where the occupant can give you no satisfactory evidence

of the existence of the lives of the persons therein named, that ejectm^t^ may be brought in order to make *them* come forward with their proofs ; —for these leases will never expire if vague information is received & credited, of the lessees being in Kentucky, or the lord knows where. —Another thing too I would have minutely looked into, and that is, where there has been a change in the occupants from the original Lessees to know by what authority it has happened ; for if I recollect the terms of my Leases there can be no alienation of the property without the consent of the landlord under his hand (and I believe) seal."

When her youngest son Howell, against her wishes, insisted on going to the Kanawha, Betty Lewis gave him a box on the ear with her right hand and a well-filled purse with the other. She was alone at 63, and went to reside with her daughter Betty (Mrs. Charles Carter) at "Western View," Culpeper. "I am persuaded," Washington wrote her (7 April 1796) you will enjoy more ease and quiet, and meet with fewer vexations where you are now than where you did live. It is my sincere desire that you should do so and that your days should be happy. In this Mrs. Washington joins." I am informed by Capt. H. Howell Lewis of Baltimore, her great-grandson, that Betty Lewis, while superintending some work on a mill, one stormy day, contracted a cold, and died 31 March 1797. Her grave is at Western View. Her daughter Carter died in 1829 at "Audley," residence of her brother Lawrence Lewis.

The Old Virginia gentleman was driven by a hunger for land difficult of modern comprehension. It was a time in which estates voted, rather than men. Washington was brought up under the influences that stimulated the passion for land. The marriage of his half-brother, Lawrence, with a Fairfax brought him in contact with the grand estate of the landed proprietary of the Northern Neck. While surveyor of Lord Fairfax he made acquaintance of the finest lands, many of which he ultimately owned.

Lawrence, son of Capt. Augustine Washington, married in

the year of his father's death. He (Lawrence) *d.* 1752 leaving a wife and child (*dau.*), the latter dying soon after. In accordance with Capt. Augustine's Will the estate thus passed to George, but the widow of Lawrence, who presently *m.* Geo. Lee, Clerk of Westmoreland, had a life-interest in it. She *d.* 1761. In Liber C, p. 822, of the Land Record Books of Fairfax Co., Va., is recorded a Deed dated 17 Dec. 1754 between Geo. Lee and Ann his wife, and Geo. Washington of King George County.

"We parties of the first part grant to the party of the second part the life interest of Ann Lee, widow of Lawrence Washington, in two parcels of land, one situate on Little Hunting Creek, the other on Dogue Creek in Fairfax, of which Lawrence Washington died seized, also one Water Grist Mill, also certain Slaves—in consideration that Geo Washington during the natural life of Ann Lee, do each year pay to her husband, Geo Lee—on the 25th December the sum or quantity of fifteen thousand pounds of tobacco in fifteen hogsheads, to be delivered at one or some of the Warehouses in the Co of Fairfax, or as much current money of Virginia in lieu thereoff as will be equal thereto at twelve (12) shillings & six pence current money, for every hundred weight of tobacco. At the election of the said Geo. Washington, his heirs or assigns (the first rent to grow due 25 Dec.)" Then follows a provision for reduction in case any of the negroes die.

This drain of nearly a hundred pounds, during the first seven years of his occupancy, helped to keep Washington's purse low, notwithstanding the fortune brought him by the widow Custis in 1759. This has been estimated at $100,000, and was certainly large, yet Washington writes (1763) that his expenses had swallowed up "all the money I got by marriage, nay more, brought me in debt, and I believe I may appeal to your own knowledge of my circumstances before."

This letter (printed in Ford's "Writings of Washington") is written to Robert Stewart to explain his inability to raise £400. In the *Nation* (19 Sep. 1889) Mr. Ford shows that in 1760 Washington paid quit-rents on 6,431 acres in the Northern Neck, and in 1769 on 12,260. But at this time

Washington himself could hardly have told what his Western lands amounted to. At his death he possessed 41,523 acres, 6 lots in Washington City, and others in Alexandria, Winchester, and the Berkeley Springs. His lands lay in Virginia, Kentucky, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New York; these with his town lots, are estimated in his will at $489,135. Washington's supposed wealth, and his reputation for sagacity as a purchaser, became inconvenient. He had only to inquire the price of a piece of land to enhance its price. He was driven to stratagems. "Upon the whole," he writes to his brother Charles, "as you are situated in a good place for seeing many of the Officers at different times I should be glad if you would (in a joking way rather that in earnest, at first) see what value they set on their lands." These lands were those donated by Gov. Dinwiddie to officers who had served against the French and Indians,—200,000 acres. Washington's portion was 15,000 acres, on the Kanawha, and he purchased as much more from fellow-claimants. The claims were, indeed, of doubtful value, and even their validity was in suspense when the revolution broke out. For some years before the trouble began, Washington was anxious to sell some of his lands. In 1773, when the scheme for a trans-Allegheny empire was afloat, he advertised for sale 20,000 acres on the Ohio and the Kanawha, recommending them on account of "their contiguity to the seat of government which, it is more than probable, will be fixed at the mouth of the Great Kanawha."

It was at a later period that Washington came into possession of his 5,000 acres in Green County, Kentucky. Writing in 1795, he speaks of the deeds having issued "several years ago." Both there and on the Kanawha his claims were sometimes disputed and involved lawsuits,—one of these being with Col. Cresap, whose family always maintained that the famous speech of the Indian chief Logan, charging Cresap with the massacre of his family, was invented to prejudice

the case. To his nephew and agent in that region, Major George Lewis, he writes (27 July 1795) concerning a rumor that somebody had sold a piece of his land:

"Mine I shall relinquish but for the full value of the land; and if that value would be increased by the purchase of the 300 acres belonging to Mr. Wodron I hereby authorise you to make purchase upon the best terms you can."

It is interesting to note that Washington, conjointly with his friend Andrew Lewis, owned the first natural gas issue discovered.

"It is," Mr. Hale (Charleston, W. Va.) writes me, "on the line of a geological anticlinal axis, which crosses the river (Kanawha) and the valley at that point. All along the break in the strata, on this anticlinal, the gas issued in larger or smaller quantities through the soil in the bottoms, and up through the river, and in Burning Spring Creek. It could be set afire and burn on the surface of the water. The Burning Spring was the largest of any single issue of gas."

Washington and Andrew Lewis bought the tract (250 acres) on account of this curiosity. Traditions of his early visit to that region are still vivid there,—where indeed a number of his near relatives settled and have left descendants.

There is at Berkeley Springs, W. Va., a White Elm, of 21 ft. 6 in. circumference,—the survivor of two said to have been planted by Washington. Mr. E. B. Pendleton of that place writes me:

"The Berkeley Springs were granted by Lord Fairfax to Virginia about 1765, and some ten years later a town was laid out. A number of persons of note, among them Washington, purchased lots and built upon them. My own house is built upon the exact spot on which stood the house of Charles Carroll, and the Washington lot is immediately across the street,—within my recollection a portion of the chimney was standing. Washington visited the Springs many summers, coming in a coach-and-four, and with his servants. My two grandfathers, one of whom was an original trustee named in the Act of Assembly as to the Springs, also my father, visited the Springs

annually. They knew Washington in daily life. I am now seventy, and from infancy was brought every year to the Springs—so I am not so very far from the shadows of those days."

At a later period of life Washington's early visions of Westward empire abated somewhat, and he was only willing to purchase land near Mount Vernon. This estate of 2,500 acres grew under him to 10,000 acres, with a river front of 10 miles.

The saying that Washington was denied children that the nation might call him Father has far-reaching significance. From the hour in which he took command of the Colonial armies at Cambridge a paternal sentiment towards his soldiers is discoverable, and to his officers, as if all belonged to the circle of his Aids which he called "My Family." But for the personal sympathy with his soldiers in their grievances, while he repressed their rebellions, the revolution might have recoiled on itself. He thanks Col. Return Jonathan Meigs (26 May 1780) for suppressing a meeting of soldiers, but adds:

"Meeting, as you very properly observe, cannot in any case be justified, but still, if the Commissaries, by a partiality of issues, have in any degree given ground of complaint, they shall be called to an account, and made to answer for it."

Another letter loaned me by John Meigs Esq. was in reply to a request from Col. Meigs for leave of absence, which was for the purpose of marriage, though that was not stated in the request. It is dated at Peek's Kill, 4 Aug. 1780.

"I have received Your letter of this date and am exceedingly sorry that any events should occur to require you to be absent from the Army. I am convinced that those on which you have founded your request are of a delicate and interesting nature, or that you would not have made it. In this view I cannot but consent to your going home, and I will not undertake to limit the day of your return. I am persuaded it will be as soon as circumstances will admit and I have

only to add my wishes, that you my find that to be such, as to justify it immediately."

Nothing can exceed the delicacy of these notes, and the personal sentiment playing between the sentences. Long after the revolution was over Washington cherished the intimate relations established with his comrades, consulting them in domestic matters, and manifesting personal gratitude to them. Among these was Col. Tench Tilghman, several of Washington's letters to whom are in the memoir of that officer (Albany: J. Munsell. 1876). A letter of Washington to his brother, Jno. Augustine, loaned me by Walter R. Benjamin of New York, touches his friendship with Col. Tilghman, and other matters and persons mentioned in this volume. It is from Mount Vernon 30 June 1784, and relates to his brother's wish to have his son Corbin enter on mercantile life.

"On Sunday last I received an answer from Mr. Morris to the letter I wrote him whilst you were here. Enclosed is an extract of it with a copy of the letter referred to. [Damaged.] Whether New York would be equally agreeable to you as Philadelphia—and whether the terms of Mr. Constable are usual and pleasing, is with you to determine,—and the sooner you can do this the better. Had Mr. Morris carried on business in the manner I expected, and as he formerly did, the advantage of entering your son with him most undoubtedly would have been great, because his mercantile knowledge and connections really exceed that of any other person's upon this Continent. . . . There is a Gentleman there, [in Maryland] also connected with Mr. Morris in Trade, at Baltimore, who I *know* to be as worthy a man in *every* point of view as any that lives; but whether he is moving upon a large scale or a small one—whether he has an opening that would admit a youth —and upon what terms, I am ignorant.—The Gentleman I mean is Lieut. Col°. Tilghman who was in my family as an Aid de Camp and Secretary the whole War; and in the mercantile line many years before it.—If he can oblige me, with any kind of convenience to himself, I am sure he would; and if you approve it, and I should upon enquiry, find he is not in a piddling way (which can scarcely be presumed from his connection with Mr. Morris) I would write to him on the subject and shall be sure of a candid decision.

"My family, at present, are all well but our intermittent months are not yet arrived.—I have come to a determination if not prevented by unforeseen events to make a visit to my Lands on the western waters this Fall, and for that purpose shall leave home the first of September.—Many are hinting their wishes and others making direct applications to be of the party, but as I neither [a clause illegible] others to follow me in these pursuits—nor satisfaction to myself to be in company with those who would soon get tired and embarrass my movements, besides rendering them inconvenient.—Thus much in general—but if Bushrod's health will permit, and it does not interfere with his studies, or plan of settlement for the practice of the Law, I would take him with me with pleasure—Only Dr. Craik besides, will go with me.—He would require only a Servant and a Blanket or two —everything else I shall provide unless he should chuse to carry a Gun for his amusement as he would more than probably see abundance of Game."

The lands to which Bushrod accompanied his uncle—Dr. Craik and his son William being also of the party—were those on the Kanawha and Ohio. The journey is vividly described in Washington's Diary. He parted from his company several times, and several times lost his way. The following entries will be found interesting:

1784. Oct. 2. I set of very early from Mr. Lewis's who accompanied me to the foot of the blew ridge at Swift run gap, 10 miles, where I bated and proceeded over the mountain—dined at a pitiful house 14 miles farther where the roads to Fredericksburg (by Orange C^{t} House) and that to Culpeper Court House fork.—took the latter, tho in my judgment Culpeper Court House was too much upon my right for a direct course.—Lodged at a widow Yearly's 12 miles further where I was hospitably entertained. 3d. Left Quarters before day and breakfasted at Culpeper Court house which was estimated 21 miles, but by bad direction I must have travelled 25, at least. Crossed Normans ford 10 miles from the Court H^{o} and lodged at Capt^{n} Ashby's. 4th. Having Capt^{n} Ashby for a guide thro' the intricate part of the Road (which ought tho' I missed it to have been by Prince William Old Court H.) I arrived at Colchester, 30 miles, to Dinner, and reached home before sundown; having travelled on the same horses since the first day of September by the computed distances 680 miles.

"The widow Yearly" spoken of in this Diary is probably of the same family with Gen. Early. Concerning this dismal journey of Washington the story is told that he was compelled by the rain and darkness to ask shelter of the first house he reached. Its owner said they had no room, "but," he added, "you will find a doggery two miles farther." But just after the General had started on, the inhospitable forester caught sight of the servant. "What's your master's name?" he asked. "General Washington." "Good God!" cried the man, and bounding after Washington he entreated him to return. "You shall have my own room," he urged. "I'd rather go on to the doggery," was the reply. But he concluded to try an alternative of the doggery, and some miles farther knocked at a cottage. A maiden answered that their home was small, but she and her mother would do what they could. The travellers were made comfortable, Washington made himself entertaining, but not until morning did he reveal his name. He then gave the young lady a gold guinea. Miss Early married in the West, where she was murdered for her ear-rings, which were made of Washington's guinea.

The love of Washington for Mount Vernon recalls romances of Charlemagne's attachment to his home at Aix-la-Chapelle, which was explained by the talisman given his Queen to attract his love, and after her death lost in his park. The fervor of a disappointed love seems to have transferred itself to this home of his childhood. On 6 Jan. 1759 he married the widow of Daniel Parke Custis, and daughter of John Dandridge. In reply to an invitation from Richard Washington to visit England he replies (20 Sept. 1759): "I am now I believe fixd at this seat with an agreable Consort for Life. And hope to find more happiness in retirement than I ever experienced amidst a wide bustling world." He entered with ardor into agriculture; he invented a new plough; he rode about his woods with a hatchet, not to cut

down trees but to mark such as appeared graceful enough to be planted near Mount Vernon mansion. His diary of 1760 is charming: Mrs. Washington with the measles, doctored by the Rev. Charles Green (the same that Augustine had nominated rector of Truro in 1737); the disorderly oystermen; his carpenter, "Richd. Stephens" found actually at work—"very extraordinary this!" the "Bread and Butter ball at Alexandria"; the young woman "whose name was unknown to any body in this family" dining there; his pretty regular attendances at church, but never any remark on the sermons; "my Young peach trees were wed according to order";—every sentence is alive!

When he is dragged away by war from his beloved home his heart still roams there. He still hopes to drive about the old roads, and in a good American chariot,—the gilded English one of 1768 having proved an imposition,—and to have his paper money all turned to gold. So he, and his wife dream in the dark days at Morristown, whence (15 April 1780) he writes to his dear Lund:

"I have ordered a chariot to be made in Phil^{a}.—The price £210 in specie, or Paper equivalent—have you any ways or means of coming at the former by your traffic with Mr. Hooe or other? The difference between specie and Paper in Phil^{a} some little time ago was 60 or 70—I have heard it is now 50, but if you could engage the first, that is specie, by your produce I should think it much more eligible than to do it with Paper—not only because the latter is so fluctuating but because it must (in the nature of things) grow better if it continues to pass. . . . Things in this quarter are nearly in the situation as when I last wrote. Mrs. Washington joins me in best wishes to you and y^{rs}."

The "Old Brick Barn" at Mount Vernon is traditionally, and no doubt truly, of an antiquity beyond 150 years. It may even have been built by the General's grandfather. Where his father dwelt it is difficult now to conjecture, as the General would allow no dilapidated buildings to remain. An

old house stood where Washington built his greenhouse in which possibly the four years of his childhood there were passed. The central part of the mansion was built by Lawrence, his half-brother (1743–4) for his bride, Anne Fairfax. In 1784 the General began his reconstructions,—in the interest of beauty mainly. His respect for solid things sometimes checked his aesthetic sentiment, as is shown in a letter (sent me by Prof. Maupin), dated 15 Jan. 1784, to Bushrod Washington.

"When I came to examine the Chimney pieces in this House, I found them so interwoven with the other parts of the Work, and so good of their kind, as to induce me to lay aside all thoughts of taking any of them down—for the only room which remains unfinished I am not yet fixed in my own mind, but believe I shall place a marble one there.—at any rate I shall suspend the purchase of any of those mentioned in your letter, and would not wish Mr. Roberts to hold either of them in expectation of it."

Mrs. Broadwell, Vice-Regent of Mount Vernon for Ohio, has had copied for me a neat drawing made by Washington of the piazza floor, with indication of the tiles needing repair. He was pained by any article that was not beautiful. When entertaining at Princeton the president of Congress and other eminent guests in his marquee, after the tidings of peace, the wine was served in cups. Some one remarked that the maker of the cups had turned Quaker preacher: Washington regretted that he had not turned Quaker preacher before he made the cups. From sheer taste Washington took under his own charge the costuming of the family, the china, the furniture. A letter to Gen. Robert Ridgway (in the Woburn Mass. Library), written from Princeton 12 Sep. 1783, just after using the ugly cups, goes minutely into particular kinds of wine glasses, finger glasses, decanters, butter-boats, tureens, and other wares desired for Mount Vernon.

But Washington loved to have these small objects around him significant in a high sense. I remarked on the cuff-but-

tons engraved for his inauguration only twelve stars. Probably when they were ordered he supposed that only Rhode Island, and not North Carolina also, would be out of the constitutional galaxy. Mr. Dreer showed me a note to Col. Tench Tilghman, Baltimore, desiring him to meet an incoming ship (from China) and buy for him dishes, bowls, muslin, handkerchiefs, to each of which is added an asterisk, and the words, "With the badge of the Society of the Cincinnati—if to be had." A good many small objects were presents, of course, such as the button with "G. W." at the centre of thirteen rings, and the motto "Long live the President!" preserved, with his draped funeral candles, in the Masonic Temple, Alexandria. Washington sought far and near for new things,—new ploughs, vegetables, trees, pigs,—and nothing that might adorn Mount Vernon escaped his far-reaching eye. He writes to his dear Gen. Knox (28 Feb. 1785:)

"In the course of your literary disputes at Boston (on the one side to drink tea in company and to be social and gay, on the other to impose restraints which at no time even were agreeable and in these days of more liberty and indulgence never will be submitted to) I perceived and was most interested by something which was said respecting the composition for a public walk, which also appears to be one of the exceptionable things."

He makes minute inquiries about this composition, being on the lookout for something of the kind, with the probable result that the "Lovers Walk" of Boston Common was anticipated at Mount Vernon.

During all the improvements Mount Vernon appears to have had room for guests. There was a steady invasion of Mount Vernon by the English, after the Revolution, and among these were literary visitors whom Washington always welcomed. "Mrs. Macauley Graham and Mr. Graham and others have just left this after a stay of about ten days. A visit from a lady so celebrated in the literary

world could not but be very satisfactory to me." (To Gen. Knox 18 June 1785.) From the defects of early education Washington, with his genius for writing, set the highest value on literature. This led to his friendship with Jonathan Boucher, and made him hold the Harvard tutor of the Custis children (Tobias Lear) as equal of the most eminent guest,—introducing him to Arthur Young as one for whom he had "a particular friendship." In this direction Mount Vernon was ahead of other grand mansions. It is probable that the honor most valued by Washington was his Chancellorship of William and Mary College in 1778, —the year in which a student of his name (Bushrod Washington) for the first time appeared on the catalogue. Apart from the momentous matter of Slavery Washington was remarkably advanced in his social ethics. In his contempt for duelling, his exaltation of the educator, a fear of formalism (insomuch that grace was not said at his table), a taste for elegance in dress and decoration, and in his cosmopolitan ideas generally, Washington was all the more singular because of the association of these things in him with a just appreciation of etiquette, dislike of finery, and religious reverence. His conservatism outside of his mental habitat,—for instance in politics,—has caused him to he misjudged. Otherwise he had little sympathy with those who, as he wrote Landon Carter, were content to tread the path their fathers trod. One thing should be mentioned as an anticipation of higher civilization: the Mount Vernon Doctor gained nothing by his patients—he was salaried. His cosmopolitan ideas are represented in many letters, among them in one to Dr. Priestley (14 April 1796) in which he expresses the opinion that the Act of 1793 "to promote the progress of useful arts" should be altered so as to extend equal advantages to foreigners.

The following selections from Washington's Diaries convey an idea of his Mount Vernon life, and have bearing on the persons and places elsewhere mentioned in this volume.

1760. Jan. 5. Mrs. Washington appeared to be something better—Mr. Green, however, came to see her abt. 11 o'clock, and in an hour Mrs. Fairfax arrived. [This physician was that same Rev. Mr. Green who was made Rector of Truro on the nomination of Washington's father, as already related, remaining such from 1737 to 1765.]

12th. Set out with Mrs. Bassett on her journey to Port Royal. . . . Lodgd at Mr. McCraes in Dumfries sending the horses to the Tavern. Here I was inform'd that Col. Cocke was disgusted at my House and left it because he see an old negro there resembling his own Image.

[The Diary shows Washington leaving Mrs. Bassett with her husband at Port Royal, then setting out with the Rev. Mr. Gibourne, who married a Fauntleroy, dining at Col. Carter's, lodging at Col. Champe's.]

16th. I parted with Mr. Gibourne, leaving Col. Champes before the Family was stirring, and abt 10 reachd my mothr. where I breakfasted and then went to Fredericksburg with my brother Sam who I found there. . . . was disappointed of seeing my sister Lewis. . . . returned in ye Evening to Mother's; all alone with her.

25th. [at Mount Vernon] Wrote to my old servant Bishop to return to me again. [This was the man confided by Braddock to Washington.]

Feb. 15. Went to a ball at Alexandria, where Musick and dancing was the chief Entertainment however in a convenient room detached for the purpose abounded great plenty of bread and butter, some biscuits, with tea and coffee which the drinkers of could not distinguish from hot water Sweetened. I shall therefore distinguish this ball by the stile and title of the Bread & Butter Ball.

April 4. Made another plow the same as my former [one of his own invention] excepting that it has two eyes and the other one.

April 9. Doctr Laurie came here, I may add drunk. [Dr. L. attended Washington's hands for £15 per annum.]

10. Mrs. Washington was blooded by Doctr Laurie who stay'd all night.

1763. March 21. Grafted 40 cherrys, viz. 12 Bullock Hearts (a large black May Cherry), 18 very fine May Cherry, 10 Cornation. Also grafted 12 Magnum Bonum Plums. Also planted 4 Nuts of the Mediterranean Pame in the Pen where the Chesnut grows—sticks by East. Note, the Cherrys and Plums came from Coll° Mason's Nuts from Mr. Gr [een's.] Set out 55 cuttings of the Madeira Grape. . . . These from Mr. Green's. [Other entries are of the grafting or planting of Spanish Pears, Butter Pears, Black Pear of Worcester, "Bergamy

Pears," New Town Pippins,—from Col. Mason who had them "from Mr. Presidt Blair,"—and "grapes from Mr. Digges."]

1770. Aug. 2 [Fredericksburg.] Met the officers of the first Virg.a Troops at Capt Weedon's, where we dined, and did not finish till about sunset. Mrs. Washington and Patsy dined at Col. Lewis's where we lodged.

4. Dined at the Barbecue with a great deal of Company and stay'd there till sunset. [On another occasion he spends "ye evening at Weedons at ye Club," in Fredericksburg.]

1772. Sep. 14. Set out for Fredericksburg about 7 o'clock. Dined and Fed my Horses at Peyton's on Acquia, and reach'd Fredericksburg abt Dusk. Lodged at my Mothers.

15. Rid to my two Plantations on the River [Rap'k] and returned to Mr. Lewis's to Dinner. Spent ye evening at Weedons.[1]

1785. Oct. Sunday 2. "Went with Fanny Bassett, Burwell Bassett, Doctr Stuart, G: A. Washington, Mr. Shaw, & Nelly Custis to Pohick Church; to hear a Mr. Thompson preach, who returned home with us to Dinner, where I found the Revd Mr. Jones, formerly a Chaplain in one of the Pennsylvania Regiments. After we were in Bed (about eleven o'clock in the Evening) Mr. Houdon, sent from Paris by Doctr. Franklin and Mr. Jefferson to take my Bust, in behalf of the State of Virginia, with three young men assistants, introduced by a Mr. Parin a French Gentleman of Alexandria, arrived here by water from the latter place."

[He observes and gives an extended description of Houdon's preparation of the 'Plaister of Paris.' Houdon finished his work and left on the 19th.][2]

26th. Having received by the last Northern Mail advice of the arrival at Boston of one of the Jack asses presented to me by His Cath-

---

[1] These entries of 1772 suggest that his mother was then residing in Fredericksburg.

[2] An earlier bust, by Wright, is mentioned in the letter to Mrs. Wright referred to on p. xvii. "If the Bust which your son has modelled of me, should reach your hands and afford your celebrated Genii any employment, that can amuse Mrs. Wright, it must be an honor done me.—and if your inclination to return to this Country should overcome other considerations you will, no doubt, meet a welcome reception from your numerous friends: among whom, I should be proud to see a person so universally celebrated, and on whom nature has bestowed such rare and uncommon gifts." The wonderful bust by Echstein, made late in Washington's life, is owned by Frederick McGuire, of Washington.

olic Majesty, I sent my overseer John Fairfax to conduct him and his Keeper, a Spaniard, home safe.

Dec. 7. Captª. Sullivan, of a Ship at Alexandria, agreeably to my request, came here to dinner to interpret between me and the Spaniard who had the care of the Jack ass sent me. My questions and his answers respecting the Jack are committed to writing.

1785. Dec. 17. Went to Alexandria to meet the Trustees of the Academy in that place—and offered to Vest in the Lands of the said Trustees when they are permanently established by charter, the sum of one thousand pounds, the Interest of which only to be applied toward the establishment of a Charity School for the education of Orphans and other poor children.—which offer was accepted; returned again in the evening—Roads remarkably wet and bad.

1786. March 19. (Sunday) A Gentleman calling himself the Count de Cheiza D'artignan Officer of the French Guards came here to dinner; but bringing no letters of introduction, nor any authentic testimonials of his being either; I was at a loss how to receive or treat him.—he stayed dinner and the evening.

Tuesday 21st. The Count de Cheiza D'artignan (so calling himself) was sent, with my horses, to-day, at his own request, to Alexandª.

May 5. Surveyed 4 mile run tract accdg to a Plat made by Jno Hough 1766 in presence of Col. Carlyle & Jas Mercer. Staid night at Abingdon. [Trespassers on this tract are mentioned.]

May 29. About 9 o'clock Mr. Tobias Lear, who had been previously engaged on a salary of 200 dollars, to live with me as a private Secretary & precepter for Washington Custis a year came here from New Hampshire, at which place his friends reside.

June 4. Sunday. Received from on board the Brig Ann, from Ireland, two servant men for whom I agreed yesterday—viz—Thomas Ryan, a shoemaker, and Cavan Bowen a Tayler Redemptioners for 3 years service by Indenture if they could not pay each the sum of £12 sterˢ which sums I agreed to pay

Western Lands attended to by Major Freeman.

Sept. 16. On my return home found the Attorney General [Edmund Randolph] his Lady and two children; and Mr. Charles Lee here.—the last returned to Alexandria after dinner under a promise to come down to dinner tomorrow and that he would ask Mr. Herbert, Colº Fitzgerald & others to dine here also. [The Randolphs left on the 18th.]

Nov. 11. [Learns of arrival at Baltimore of 3 asses and some Chinese pheasants and French partridges from France sent by Lafayette.]

25. Bought the time of a Dutch family, consisting of a man by profession a Ditcher, mower &c^{a}—a Woman his wife a Spinner, washer, milker, and their child—names: Daniel Overdursh, Margaret Overdursh, Anna Overdursh.

1787. Jan. 10. I received by express the acc^{t} of the sudden death (by a fit of the Gout in the head) of my beloved Brother Col^{o} Jno. Aug^{e} Washington. At home all day.

March 3. The Rev. M. Weems and y^{e} Doct^{r} Craik who came here yesterday in the afternoon left this about Noon for Port Tob^{c}.

March 6. On my return home found Col^{o} [Burgess] Ball here—and soon after dinner Mr. G. W. Lewis son to Mr. Fielding Lewis of Frederick came in.

April 24. Major G. Washington's Child which had been sick since Sunday, and appearing to be very ill occasioned the sending for the Rev. Mr. Massey to christen it who arriving about 5 o'clock performed the ceremony. 25. The Major's child dying betw^{n} 7 & 8 o'clock A.M. Mr. Massey stayed to bury it.

26. Receiving an express between 4 & 5 o'clock this afternoon informing me of the extreme illness of my Mother and Sister Lewis's I resolved to set out for Fredericksburgh by daylight in the morning.

27. About sunrise I commenced my journey as intended—Bated at Dumfries, and reached Fredericksburg before two o'clock and found both my mother and sister better than I expected—the latter out of danger as is supposed, but the extreme low state in w^{ch} the former was left little hope of her recovery as she was exceedingly reduced and much debilitated by age and the disorder. Dined and lodged at my Sister's.

28. Dined at Mrs. Lewis's and Drank Tea at Judge Morcers;—Gen^{l} Weedon, Col. Ch^{s} Carter, Judge Mercer, and Mr. Jno. Lewis and his wife dined with me at my Sister's.

Sunday, 29th. Dined at Col^{o} Charles Carter's—and drank tea at Mr. John Lewis's.

30th. Set out about sunrise on my return home.

[In Washington's Journal while attending the Constitutional Convention the only extended entries relate to agricultural observations in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, and a machine of Dr. Franklin's, excepting an entry on the close of the Convention.]

1788 June 9. Capt^{n} Barney, in the Miniature ship Federalist—as a present from the merchants of Baltimore to me arrived here to Breakfast with her and stayed all day & night. Remained at home all day.

June 10. Between 9 and 10 o'clock set out for Fredericksburgh accompanied by Mrs. Washington on a visit to my Mother—Made a visit to Mr. and Mrs. Thompson in Colchester—& reached Col° Blackburns to dinner, where we lodged—he was from home—the next morning, about sunrise we continued our journey—breakfasted at Stafford Court House and intended to have dined at Mr. Fitzhugh's of Chatham but he & Lady being from home we proceeded to Fredericksburgh—alighted at my Mothers and sent the Carriage and horses to my Sister Lewis's—where we dined and lodged—as we also did the next day, the first in company with Mr. Fitzhugh, Col° Carter, & Col° Willis and their Ladies, & Gen¹ Weedon—The day following (Friday) we dined in a large Company at Mansfield (Mr. Man Page's)—on Saturday we visited Gen¹ Spotswoods dined there and returned in the Evening to my sisters—On Sunday we went to Church—the Congregation being alarmed (without cause) and suppos^g the Gallerys at the N° End was about to fall were thrown into the utmost confusion; and in the precipitate retreat to the doors many got hurt.[1]—Dined in a large Company at Col° Willis's—where, taking leave of my friends, we recrossed the River, and spent the evening at Chatham—The next morning before five o'clock we left it—travelled to Dumfries to breakfast—and reached home to a late dinner and found Capt^n Barney had left it about half an hour before for Alexandria to proceed in the Stage of Tomorrow for Baltimore.

28. [Attends rejoicing at Alexandria on ratification of the Constitution by Virginia and New Hampshire.]

Nov. 14. [Engages a German gardener: beginning with £10, and adding a pound annually up to £15; house and food for himself and wife,—but no clothes.]

Sept. 17. This day agreed with my overseer Powell at the lower Plantation on Rappa^k to continue another year on the same lay as the last provided the number of hands are not Increased—but, if I should add a hand or two more, and let him (as I am to do at any rate) choose 5 of the best Horses at that Quarter & the upper one he is in that case to receive only the 8^th^ of what Corn, Wheat, & Tob° he makes on the Plantation. [The "Little Falls" farm. See p. xxxii.]

---

[1] The gallery was new and one beam had not been properly fitted; it fell into its place under weight of the crowd attracted by Washington, with a loud report. The late Judge Lomax remembered the calmness of Washington, who remained seated; tradition says that his quietness somewhat restrained the rush and prevented further injuries.

As some portions of Washington's letters to Pearce may suggest closeness in money matters, it should be stated that his charities were known to his agents.

"I had orders from Gen. Washington," says Peake "to fill a corn-house every year, for the sole use of the poor in my neighborhood, to whom it was a most seasonable and precious relief, saving numbers of poor women and children from extreme want, and blessing them with plenty. . . . He owned several fishing stations on the Potomac, at which excellent herring were caught, and which, when salted, proved an important article of food to the poor. For their accommodation he appropriated a station—one of the best he had—and furnished it with all the necessary apparatus for taking herring. Here the honest poor might fish free of expense, at any time, by only an application to the overseer; and if at any time unequal to the labor of hauling the seine, assistance was rendered by the order of the General."

In the accounts of Robert Lewis, while his uncle's agent, (shown me by his grand-daughter Mrs. Ella B. Washington) strictness in demands is accompanied by considerate giving. On 22 Feb. 1795 he writes:

"Mrs. Haynie should endeavour to do what she can for herself;—this is the duty of every one. But you must not let her suffer, as she has thrown herself upon me; your advances on this account will be allowed always at settlement; and I agree readily to furnish her with provisions; and from the good character you give of her daughter, make the latter a present, in my name, of a handsome but not costly gown, and other things which she may stand mostly in need of. You may charge me also with the worth of your tenement on which she is placed; and where perhaps it is better she should be than at a greater distance from your attentions to her."

On 26 June 1796 he writes from Mount Vernon:

"I am sorry to hear of the death of Mrs. Haynie; and will very cheerfully receive her daughter the moment I get settled at this place. Let her want for nothing that is decent and proper, and if she remains in your family, I wish for the girl's sake, as well as for the use she may be to your aunt, when she comes here, that Mrs. Lewis would

keep her industriously employed *always*, and instructed in the care and economy of housekeeping.".

This Mrs. Haynie and her daughter were, indeed, distant relatives of Washington, but his charity was felt by many not his kindred.

It must be always borne in mind that extreme economy alone enabled Washington to meet the drain on his resources for cultivation of his estates, and for unstinted hospitalities which extended to the whole world. Moreover, though sometimes impecunious Washington resolutely stood on his own legs. Judge Samuels of Virginia possesses a letter of Washington to John F. Mercer soliciting a loan of $200, in order to pay a debt in New York. It was written in September 1786, when Washington was declining remuneration for his public services. In a letter to Warner Washington, 9 Nov. 1787, (owned by Herbert Washington of Philadelphia) he speaks of the "perplexed state" of his own affairs as preventing his acceptance of executorship under the will of Col. Fairfax. He borrowed money to go on to his first inauguration.

On 15 March 1789 Washington answers an office-seeker:

"If the Administration of the New Government should inevitably fall upon me that I will go into office *totally* free from pre-engagements of *every* nature whatsoever, and in recommendations to appointments will make justice and the public good, my *sole* objects. Resolving to pursue this rule invariably—I can add nothing more on the subject of your application until the time shall arrive when the merit and justice of every claim appears, when, so far as the matter depends upon me, the principles above mentioned shall to the best of my judgment have their full operation."

This note (owned by Frederick McGuire of Washington) was only made more cordial for friends and relatives. He helped his young relatives forward but with avoidance of nepotism. He made them private secretaries, paid out of his own purse, employed them on his estates, but took them in

public service only for posts of danger. When the President went out to suppress the "Whiskey Rebellion" five nephews went with him: Major George Lewis, Commandant of the Cavalry; Major Lawrence Lewis, Aid to Gen. Morgan; Howell Lewis, in Capt. Mercer's troop; Samuel, son of Col. Charles Washington, and Lawrence, son of Col. Samuel Washington, being light horsemen. In the diary of Surgeon General Wellford, (sent me by his grandson, Judge Wellford of Richmond) occurs the following entry concerning an incident at Bedford:

"Sunday Oct. 19, 1794. The Cavalry this morning escorted the President about five miles from the Camp, when he requested his troops to return, and at taking leave spoke to Major George Lewis as follows: "George, you are the eldest of five nephews I have in the army; let your conduct be an example to them, and do not turn your back until your are ordered." Major Lewis made a suitable reply; but from this address of the President it was conjectured that the troops would not be entirely disbanded at the end of three months service."

Washington's relation to his kindred was patriarchal, even beyond those whom he may be said to have adopted,—namely his wife's two children and three grandchildren, and three children of his brother Samuel. The terms on which his nephews were with Washington are illustrated by many humorous anecdotes.

The Rev. Dr. McGuire reports the following in the words of his father-in-law (Robert Lewis, nephew of Washington.)

"While acting as his agent I accidentally ascertained that he owned a tract of land in ——— county, of which he had given me no account. Some short time after the discovery, being on a visit to Mount Vernon, with my family, I mentioned the fact to him, at which he seemed to be at a loss, expressing his surprise that such a claim should have escaped him. When the conversation had ended, I remarked, in a jocular tone, that I had had a singular dream about that land, a few nights before. He asked me what it was. I replied that

I had dreamed he had made me a present of the tract. He smiled, and observed that my dreaming knack was a very convenient one, but why did I not dream at once that he had given me Mount Vernon? A few days after this, in setting out for my residence, the General accompanied myself and wife to the carriage, when, in taking leave of us, he put into my hands a small slip of paper, requesting me to examine it at my leisure. Thinking it probably contained memoranda of some kind relating to my agency I put it into my pocket, and did not look at it for some time. When I did so, however, I was surprised to find that, in the space of six written lines, he had made me a conveyance of the land in ——— county. The tract contained upward of eleven hundred acres."

Robert Lewis's grand-daughter, Mrs. Ella Bassett Washington, tells me that this conveyance of six lines was kept framed, and often declared by lawyers as perfect a legal instrument of its kind as could be written.

Washington's characteristic humility made demonstrative homage painful to him. Caleb Bentley walked behind the General in a procession, and, on his return home, said "I felt as if in the presence of a God." This was told me by Mrs. Richard Bentley, of Sandy Spring, Maryland, Caleb's daughter-in-law. I also heard that when Washington was riding through a village, where people had crowded to see him, he observed a little girl in distress because she could not get forward. He stopped his horse, and asked that the child should be brought to him; he held her on his saddle, and she exclaimed, "Why he's only a man after all!" Of course tradition has invented the appropriate reply, "Yes, child, a very imperfect man after all!" The story has variants, and sounds like a fable of the humility and love of children observed in Washington. He would not claim any privileges. After he had retired from the presidency he was summoned for a petit jury in Fairfax, on an ordinary case, and served. The fact was not paraded, or noted, and is now, I believe, for the first time published.

The reader will have remarked, in a letter to Gen. Knox

(*supra*, p. lxxi), Washington's comment on the censors of gaiety in Boston. It is wonderful that a man so fond of sports, of games and dances, should be popularly regarded as habitually grave, if not grim. It is this notion which removed him so far from us. Miss Katherine Wormeley told me that Washington had always been an un-mortal kind of being to her until she heard the aged Mrs. Lawrence Lewis (Nelly Custis) relate that once when she was sliding down the banisters he came out and "gave her a box on the cheek." That seemed to bring him closer. Nelly was his darling, he was paternally anxious lest she should be hurt, and the box was one of affection. In Washington's correspondence with Rev. Jonathan Boucher (printed in *Lippincott's Magazine*, May 1889,) one may recognize the deprivations of his own early life in his anxiety that his adopted son John Custis shall be taught dancing, French, and all the polite accomplishments. The overmuch homespun of his boyhood is revealed in the fine costumes he orders from London for himself and others when he can afford it. He orders best house decorations, and a costly harpsichord for Nelly Custis. He was a whist player, a fox-hunter, and sometimes in late years amused himself with the land surveys once made for livelihood.

A valued correspondent, Dr. Cotton of Charleston, West Va., whose wife is a great-granddaughter of Augustine Washington (the General's half-brother) permits me to print a letter of his (21 May 1889) though not written with that view. After stating that his wife's grandmother (Mrs. Fitzhugh) said it was spoken of at Mount Vernon as a popular error that Lawrence was the elder of Washington's half brothers, he writes:

I give you one of her reminiscences of Mt. Vernon. In her 12th year she spent several weeks there in company with quite a number of young girls, her cousins, who with their mothers were invited guests of Mrs. Washington. Every morning, precisely at eleven o'clock,

"Lady Washington" would enter the drawing room, where all her guests young & old were expected to be present, waiting to receive her. In the most formal and dignified manner she would pass around the room shaking hands and addressing each one particularly; then taking her seat would keep them just one hour on their good behavior. When the clock struck twelve she would arise, and bidding her guests good morning, ascend to her chamber, and again return, precisely at one, followed by a servant carrying an immense bowl of punch, of which each person was expected to partake before dinner. Now these young girls, curious to find out why her "Ladyship" invariably retired to her chamber at this hour, secretly slipped out while she was entertaining their mothers, crept up stairs to her chamber, and hid under the bed. Presently Lady W. entered, and took her seat beside a large table in the centre of the room. Then came a man-servant bringing a large empty bowl; with it also lemons, sugar, spices, and rum; with which her Ladyship immediately proceeded to prepare the delicious drink with her own hands. The young people under the bed could not contain themselves, and by giggles made known their presence; whereupon her Ladyship haughtily arose, in imperious tones demanded if their curiosity were fully satisfied, and ordered them out of the room. But they, retreating before her with backward steps, fell down the narrow, crooked, precipitous stairway, one of them breaking her arm. The impression left upon the mind of this young girl (afterward Mrs. Fitzhugh), never effaced up to her 91st year, when she related this incident to her grandchildren, was that Mrs. Washington was too hard and overbearing to children, while, on the contrary, the General was always gentle with them, under the most trying circumstances. Often, when at their games in the drawing room at night,—perhaps romping, dancing and noisy—they would see the General watching their movements at some side door, enjoying their sport, and if at any time his presence seemed to check them, he would beg them not to mind him, but go on just as before, encouraging them in every possible way to continue their amusements to their hearts content.

Many letters show that Washington's young relatives consulted him on their intimate affairs. He was the confidant of their loves, and amid tremendous affairs of state found time to consider their romances. Here, for instance, is a note from his niece Harriot, whom he had adopted after her father's

(Samuel Washington's) death, and who was living with her aunt Betty Lewis at Fredericksburg. Harriot writes (24 April, 1795) at the age of fifteen:

"How shall I apologize to my dear & Honor'd for intruding on his goodness so soon again but being sensible of your kindness to me which I shall ever remember with the most heartfelt gratitude induces me to make known my wants.—I have not had a pair of stays since I first came here if you could let me have a pair I should be very much obleiged to you and also a hat and a few other articles. I hope my dear Uncle will not think me extravagant for really I take as much care of my cloaths as I possibly can. I was very much pleased to hear by Mrs. Madison that you and Aunt Washington were perfectly well. I have been very sick lately with the ague and fever. Cousin Carter has been daingerously ill she was given out by the Doctors but is much better at present. Aunt Lewis joins me in love to you and Aunt Washington.

I am my dear and Honored Uncle
your affectionate Neice,
HARRIOT WASHINGTON."

An interesting correspondence between Washington and his sister concerning this young lady is given in the *Mag. Am. Hist.* Jan., 1884. When Harriot consulted Washington about her desire to marry Mr. Parks he made careful inquiries about the gentleman. He consented, but regretted in a letter to his sister that Harriot could not have waited until his presidency was over, when she would have lived at Mount Vernon and enlarged her circle of male acquaintances.

Washington's camaraderie has already been mentioned. Masonic writers generally suppose that he was by distinction admitted to their Society before he was of age; but the date, 4 Nov. 1752, was pretty certainly in the following year (N. S.) There was also a Club in Fredericksburg, mentioned in Washington's Diary as early as 1763, which met at "Weedon's." Before the Revolution Dr. Smyth, an English traveller, stopped at George Weedon's inn ("The Rising Sun")

and found his host the head of a revolutionary circle. This no doubt was the Club. There Washington may have met in his time Gen. Hugh Mercer, Gen. Woodford, Gen. Weedon, Col. Wm. Fitzhugh, Col. Monroe, Col. John Spotswood, Col. Fielding Lewis, Col. Burgess Ball, Major Charles Dick, Major Willis, and the Stafford Mercers, Masons, and Washingtons; he no doubt met there young Paul Jones. Of these a goodly number survived the Revolution. Gen. Hugh Mercer (1720–1777) who had fought at Culloden, and by Washington's side under Braddock, had fallen at Princeton; but in his old home at Fredericksburg, "The Sentry Box" (yet standing) his brother-in-law, Gen. Weedon, gathered the old comrades every year for a banquet in celebration of the capture of the Hessians. Gen. Hugh Mercer's little son, adopted by the nation, was brought in to sing to the veterans, responding with chorus, a ballad of "Christmas Day of '76." Among those who greeted Washington with especial warmth was Dr. Robert Wellford (afterwards Surgeon-General) founder of an eminent race. When the Revolution began Dr. Wellford had just begun practice in London. A Cabinet Minister, thrown from his carriage at the young surgeon's door, was so skilfully treated that he offered Wellford a position with the army in America. He served with brilliant success in Philadelphia, during the British occupation of that city, but in consequence of orders he deemed inconsistent with his professional duties he resigned. Having saved the life of Col. John Spotswood he was persuaded to accompany him to Fredericksburg,—where he married. Thither he bore letters of Washington with results indicated in a letter before me, in which, on occasion of the Whiskey Rebellion, Dr. Wellford offered gratuitous services—which were accepted.

"Robert Wellford," says this letter, "can never forget a most respectfull regard for the President, nor can he relinquish but with memory itself his gratitude for those introductory letters (to the

notice and friendship of Col. Fielding Lewis, Mr. Fitzhugh of Chatham, and other respectable characters) which settled him in life, and from which has resulted a practice in surgery and medicine which now enables him to support an amiable wife, two lovely daughters, and the means of educating six sons, every one of which, he hopes, at a future day will prove themselves valuable members of the United States."

Judge Wellford of Richmond has shown me one of these letters, introducing his grandfather (6 July 1778) to William Fitzhugh; it speaks of Wellford's "great humanity, care and tenderness to the sick and wounded of our army in captivity."

Another name too little known to fame is Captain Bernard Gallagher, of maternal descent from Chancellor Nicholas Bacon. Disliking a parental plan for making him, the only son, a priest, he had escaped from Ballyshannon, Ireland, as a cabin boy, and when our revolution began, had risen to the command of his vessel. Captured by an American cruiser he adopted the cause of his captors. In 1781 Capt. Gallagher, living at Dumfries, Prince William Co., Va., loaded a vessel at Alexandria with corn to provision Yorktown, dropped down the river, and was chased by a British cruiser, which signalled that the cargo would be paid for if surrendered. But while parleying, the captain and crew scuttled their own ship. While attempting escape in the yawl, Captain Gallagher was captured, and held in chains at Halifax two years, in the prison ships, until the peace. Thereafter Washington was sometimes a guest of the Gallaghers, at Dumfries, and at the request of Mrs. Gallagher, (*née* Strother,) sat for his portrait.

It is this portrait, painted by C. W. Peale, which the gallant Captain's grandson, Rev. Mason Gallagher of Brooklyn, enables me to present in this volume. It was painted when Washington was fifty-five, his mouth being not yet disfigured by the monstrous artificial teeth now in the Dental

Museum at Baltimore, by which the standard portraits are affected.[1]

There were other old comrades in the neighborhood of Mount Vernon,—Dr. Craik, Col. Simms, Col. Fitzgerald, Col. Little, Lieut. Conway, and others who may be found in the Index of this work.

What sentiment Washington felt towards old friends is shown in many letters. The following from Philadelphia, 16 June 1793, is to William Fitzhugh Jr., and relates to his father, Col. William Fitzhugh of Chatham (known in the late Civil War as "Lacy's").

"The China Bowl with which your good Father was so obliging as to present me came safe and I beg you to assure him that I shall esteem it more as a memento of his friendship than from its antiquity or size.—Not before the receipt of your letter, dated the 24th of last month, had I heard of the death of Mrs. Fitzhugh—on this melancholy event I pray you both to accept my sincere condolance. I also sincerely wish that the evening of his life although at present clouded deprived of one of its greatest enjoyments, may be perfectly serene and happy:—that you will contribute all in your power to make it so I have no doubt. With great esteem and regard."[2]

In the last years of Washington's life the family was represented in Westmoreland chiefly by a son of his half-brother Augustine,—William Augustine Washington. Bushrod, son of his brother John Augustine, was a rising lawyer in Richmond City; and, since the separation from Edmund Ran-

[1] For the mask appended to this portrait the reader is indebted to Dr. Toner, by whom it was discovered while searching out a portrait for a medal in commemoration of the national monument. The medal was never struck, and the mask is here first published. It was used by Clark Mills, and is in the possession of one of his workmen. While Mills was making his equestrian statue, John Augustine Washington, the owner of Mount Vernon, loaned him Houdon's bust; whether this mask was molded from it, or, as I think with Dr. Toner, an original matrix by Houdon, is not determined. But it is certainly an impressive representation of Washington.

[2] For this and the remaining letters used in this Introduction I am indebted to Mr. Luther Kountze.

dolph, had attended to his uncle's law affairs. The two letters following relate to the selection of an academy for William Augustine's sons. He writes from Philadelphia (18 Feb. 1795) recommending Andover.

"There is a college at Carlisle in this State of which much is said but it is in much such a town as Fredericksburg, and liable, I presume to the objections you have made to the Academies in Virginia;—that objection does not apply to the northern schools; order, regularity and a proper regard to morals in and out of school is there very much attended to; and besides Harvard College Boston is at hand for the completion of education if you should prefer it, and is, I am told, in high repute."

Andover was chosen, and Washington encloses (21 April 1795) letters of introduction to Hamilton and others.

"Enclosed I send you a few letters of introduction to some acquaintances of mine both in Boston and New York. I have not done this to the Governors thereof but think it would be proper that you should pay *both* the respect of Calling upon them. To get introduced could not be difficult with the letters that are enclosed."

Another letter from Mount Vernon (17 Dec. 1797) reminds us painfully of alienations in the last years of Washington's presidency. It was Mrs. Washington's letter to Mrs. Elizabeth Powell in Philadelphia, but every word of it is in her husband's handwriting, and evidently his composition.

"It was indeed, with sympathetic concern, we heard of the late calamitous situation of Philadelphia, and indisposition of some of your friends:—These occurrences, however, are inflicted by an invisible hand, as trials of our Philosophy, resignation and patience; all of which it becomes us to exercise. . .

"Poor M^rs^ Morris! I feel much for her situation; and earnestly pray that M^r^ Morris may, and soon, work through all his difficulties; in which I am persuaded, that all who know him heartily join me; as they do that their ease, quiet and domestic enjoyments, may be perfectly restored. M^rs^ Marshalls arrival must be a comfort to them all,

however disappointed she herself may be, in the apparent reverse of their situation, since she embarked for Europe. . . .

Mr Fitzhugh and family, have, within the last fortnight, become residents of Alexa and we should, 'ere this, have made them a congratulatory visit on the occasion, but the bad weather in which they travelled, has indisposed Mrs Fitzhugh so much, as to confine her to her room with an inflammation, more troublesome than dangerous.

"I am now, by desire of the General to add a few words on his behalf; which he desires may be expressed in the terms following, that is to say,—that despairing of hearing what may be said of him, if he should really go off in an apoplectic, or any other fit (for he thinks all fits that issue in death are worse than a love fit, a fit of laughter, and many other kinds which he could name)—he is glad to hear *beforehand* what will be said of him on that occasion;—conceiving that nothing extra: will happen between *this* and *then* to make a change in his character for better, or for worse.—And besides, as he has entered into an engagement with Mr Morris, and several other Gentlemen, not to quit the theatre of *this* world before the year 1800, it may be *relied upon* that no breach of contract shall be laid to him on that account, unless dire necessity should bring it about, maugre all his exertions to the contrary.—In that case, he shall hope they would do by him as he would do by them—excuse it. At present there seems to be no danger of his giving them the slip, as neither his health nor spirits, were ever in greater flow, notwithstanding, he adds, he is descending, and has almost reached, the bottom of the hill;—or in other words, the shades below.—For your particular good wishes on this occasion he charges me to say that he feels highly obliged, and that he reciprocates them with great cordiallity.

"Nelly Custis (who has been a little indisposed with a swelling in her face) offers her thanks for the kind expressions of your letter in her behalf, and joins the General and myself in every good wish for your health and happiness.—I am my dear Madam with the greatest esteem

Your most affectionate
Martha Washington."

There is, alas, bitterness in this laughter.

At this time Washington was deeply interested in the building up of Washington City. In a letter to his friend William Thornton, dated at Mount Vernon, 20 Dec. 1798, he

encloses a check on the Bank of Alexandria for five hundred dollars, "to enable Mr. Blagden by your draughts to proceed in laying in materials for carrying on my buildings in the Federal City." He adds:

"I saw a building in Philadelphia of about the same front and elevation, that are to be given to my two houses, which pleases me. It consisted also of two houses united,—Doors in the centre—a pediment in the roof and dorma window on each side of it in front—skylights in the rear. If this is not incongruous with rules of Architecture, I would be glad to have my two houses executed in this style.—Let me request the favor of you to know from Mr. Blagden what the additional cost will be."

A letter (5 April 1798) to Col. William A. Washington shows the farmer and the patriot both somewhat troubled.

"I feel obliged by your endeavours to discover the genealogical descent from Lawrence Washington, the younger brother of our ancestor John;—and for your enquiries after flour barrel staves.—If any material information should be obtained relatively to the first matter, I shall be oblidged by the communication thereof.

"At a crisis like the present, and enveloped as our foreign relations seem to be in clouds & darkness, it is not easy to decide on what to ask, or what to take, for the produce of our fields.—By the last acc^{ts} from Paris, our Commissioners to that Republic had not been received, nor was it likely they would be; and appearances, as far as it is to be infered from the Presid^{ts} message to Congress on the 19th Ult^{o}, indicated nothing good, and afford no hope of redress for the injuries we have received from violated Treaties, and the arbitrary and unjust measures of the French Directory. Under these circumstances, and the present uncertain state of our political concerns, it would be hazardous to offer you any advice with respect to the disposal of your Corn: but was I in your place, I should, I believe, be more inclined to take the best price I could obtain *now* than wait for a *better market some time hence;*—and I should be more solicitous to secure the filfilment of the contract than to enhance the price of the article if credit is given, and without giving it, the sale will be dull:—such is the state of mercantile transactions, occasioned by the outrageous spoliations it has sustained, & the consequent dis-

tresses of those who have suffered by them.—Under this view of the subject, and upon these principles too, I have disposed of my Flour: —the only article I had for market.

"In speaking of corn, and knowing that you raise a quantity every year for sale, it has occurred to me to ask, if you would be inclined to contract for 500 barrels annually, for the term of five or seven years, and at what price. My lands are not congenial with this crop, and are much injured by the growth of it;—having an under stratum of hard clay impervious to water, which penetrating that far and unable to descend lower, sweeps off the upper soil in the furrows—although the land is generally level—and runs it, in spite of all I can do to prevent it, into injurious and eye-sore gullies.—Nothing but the indispensable use of this food for my negros (and indeed for Hogs) has restrained me from discontinuing the growth of it altogether, or in small well improved lots only, but the uncertainty of obtaining a given quantity —at stated periods of the year—and from a person on whose ability & punctuality I could confidently rely."

On 14 Feb. 1799 he writes to ask if he cannot obtain an additional 100 bushels of corn per annum. On 26 March he wishes to know if he can exchange whiskey for Indian corn in Westmoreland. "Capt. Bowcock has delivered more corn than he received from you; of which Mr. Anderson my manager will give you the a/c—as he will also do of the whiskey; the barrel of fish you will please to accept.—My best respects and congratulations in which my wife joins me, are offered to Mrs. Washington and yourself on your marriage. We shall always be glad to see you at this place." In June (10th) he complains of slow payments from tenants in Washington and Lafayette counties (Pa.) Instead of an expected $6,000, due June 1, but $1,700 were received.

To this Col. William Augustine Washington the General made various bequests, but he appears to have entirely forgotten the terms of his half-brother Lawrence's Will. Lawrence provided that in the event that either of his brothers should die without issue his inheritance should "become the property and right of my brother Augustine and his heirs." The General being without issue Mount Vernon would thus

pass to Augustine's heir,—namely, to William Augustine Washington. The General bequeathed it to Bushrod, nephew of his own brother, John Augustine.

I learn on good authority that Washington's widow wrote to Col. William Augustine Washington asking him if he intended to break the will. He answered that although a wrong had been done he would not oppose the Will. He was given the first choice of swords under the Will.

In the last letter printed in this volume Washington says to a relative who had informed him of his brother Charles's death, "I was the first, and am, now, the last of my father's children by the second marriage, who remain. When I shall be *called upon to follow them* is known only to the Giver of Life. When the summons comes I shall endeavor to obey it with a good grace." The hour came a few weeks later, and how the man met it is known to the world, though hardly recognized in its sublimity. Washington counting his pulses as they were beating his funeral march is only less sublime than Washington counting his mental pulses, so to say, and facing the fact of their decline. (See letter to Gov. Trumbull, *Life of Silliman*, ii. 385.) When his friends, and partizans in dread of defeat, implored him to accept a third presidency, his patriotism,—the ruling passion strong amid other decline,—answered, "Although I have abundant cause to be thankful for the good health with which I am blessed, yet I am not insensible to my declination in other respects. It would be criminal, therefore, in me, although it should be the wish of my countrymen and I could be elected, to accept an office under this conviction which another would discharge with more ability."

History has shown nothing more great in its lowliness than this answer of Washington,—noble enough to protect at last from genuine loyalty to himself the nation he had saved from superstitious loyalty to kings.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

AND

MOUNT VERNON

GEORGE WASHINGTON

AND

MOUNT VERNON.

I.

To William Pearce, at Hopewell.[1]

Sir, Philadelphia, Aug^{t} 26th 1793.

I intended to have written to you somewhat sooner, but business of a public nature and pressing, prevented it until now. —

Although I have conviction in my own mind, that a hundred guineas p^{r} annum is more than my Mount Vernon Estate will enable me to give the Superintendent of it; yet, the satisfaction (when one is at a considerable distance from property they possess, under circumstances which does not allow much thought thereon) of having a person in whom confidence can be placed as a Manager, is such, as to dispose me to allow you that sum; provided other matters can be adjusted to the mutual convenience, and satisfaction of both parties.

As you were about to depart in the Stage when I saw you (and which I knew could not wait) I did not go so much into

---

[1] Eastern Shore of Maryland. Pearce was secured for Washington by his friend (Judge) Wm. Tilghman, whose relative, Col. Oswald Tilghman, tells me that a part of his estate at Easton, Talbot Co., is still known as "Hopewell." (Appendix A.)

detail as was necessary to place an agreement upon a basis to avoid mis-conception, and unpleasant disputes thereafter; and besides, altho' you would be upon standing wages, which, in the opinion of some would make it immaterial (these being paid) what sort of an estate you overlooked; yet my opinion of a sensible and discreet man is, that before he would finally engage, he would view the estate himself, and decide from that view, whether it possessed such advantages as would enable him to acquire honor as well as profit from the management thereof;—whether he could make it profitable to his Employer from its local situation; from the nature of its soil, and means of improving it;—the plans proposed; or the condition in which it might appear to him. Whether the part of the Country, the accomodations, the water, &c^{t} were to his liking;—with other considerations which will admit no evidence equal to that of one's own observation, to decide ultimately on what to resolve.—

Having stated a fact, and given my ideas of what I suppose would be most agreeable for you to do, I shall add, that if nothing more than I foresee at present should happen, I expect to be at Mount Vernon about the 20th of next Month, for a stay of 8 or 10 days.—If then you are disposed to undertake my business, and wish to see the nature of it, and the present state of it; I should be glad to see you there about that time, when every necessary arrangement may be made if we should finally agree.

From Baltimore to Mount Vernon by the way of the Federal City, George Town, and Alexandria, is 59 measured Miles;—and from Annapolis to the same place, crossing Potomac at Alexandria, is 45 Miles; but it might be reduced to less than 40 if there was a ferry opposite to my house.—From Baltimore to Alexandria (through the above places) the regular Stages pass; and set out every Monday, Wednesday and friday from the former, reaching the latter the same day; from whence a horse could be hired without difficulty, I believe,

to carry you to my house, distant 9 miles. I mention these things for your information, in case you should determine to go there.

If you resolve to meet me at Mount Vernon, give me notice thereof immediately; and if business or any other cause should render it impracticable for me to be there, at the time, I will inform you, so as to prevent your setting out.—

I informed you at our meeting, that I had eight or ten Negro Carpenters under the care of a worthless White man, whom I had forborn to turn away on account of the peculiar circumstances attending his family;—But I suffer so much from his negligence;—by his bad qualities;—and bad examples; that I find it indispensably necessary to get some other workman to supply his place.—If it should be your lot to superintend my affairs, your own ease, as well as my interest, would induce you to look out for a successor to him, against New Years day;—if not, and you could recommend a proper character for this business, it would be rendering me an acceptable service to do it. I am Sir—

Your H^ble^ Serv^t^
G° Washington.

II.

Mount Vernon, Oct^r^ 6^th^, 1793.

Mr. Pearce,

Enclosed is a copy of our agreement with my signature to it.—

Since you were here, Mrs. Washington the Widow of my Nephew,[1] who formerly lived at this place, has resolved as

[1] The widow of George Augustine Washington (m. 15 Oct., 1785), elsewhere in these letters spoken of as Mrs. Fanny Washington. After her husband's death (Feb. 5, 1792) Washington invited her to make her home at Mount Vernon. She became the second wife of Washington's Secretary, Tobias Lear. She was a daughter of Col. Burwell Bassett and Anna Dandridge (Mrs. George Washington's sister), of Eltham, New Kent Co., Va. (Appendix B.)

soon as we leave it, to remove to her Brother's in the lower part of this State, and will not, I believe, return to reside at it again.—This will make it more convenient and agreeable, both for yourself and me, that you should live the Winter, at least, at my Mansion house; as it will allow more time for my carpenters to provide for Mr. Crow, and to put the place he lives at in better repair than it now is for yourself, if there should be occasion for you to go there;—and this too, under your own inspection.—

The right wing to my dwelling house as you possibly may have noticed, and heard called the Hall, (being kept altogether for the use of Strangers) has two good rooms below (with tiled floors) and as many above, all with fire places.—This will accomodate your family (being a larger house) better than Crow's; and by being here, you will have the use of my Kitchen, the Cook belonging thereto, Frank the House Servant, a boy also in the House.—The Stable, Garden, &c^{t}, &c^{t}, without any additional expence to me;—at the same time that it will, by placing you in the centre of the business, ease you of much trouble; for otherwise, the frequent calls from the Farms,—from workmen of different descriptions for Tools, Nails, Iron, &c^{t}, from the Store—and the particular attention which matters ab^{t} the Mansion house will require, would have occasioned you many an inconvenient ride here, the necessity for which will be entirely superceded, as your mornings and evenings will, of course, be spent where your presence will be most wanting.—

As I am never sparing (with proper æconomy) in furnishing my Farms with any, and every kind of Tool and implement that is calculated to do good and neat work, I not only authorize you to bring the kind of ploughs you were speaking to me about, but any others, the utility of which you have proved from your own experience;—particularly a kind of hand rake which Mr. Stuart tells me are used on the Eastern Shore of Maryland in lieu of Hoes for Corn at a certain stage

of its growth—and a Scythe and Cradle different from those used with us, and with which the grain is laid much better.—In short I shall begrudge no reasonable expence that will contribute to the improvement and neatness of my Farms;—for nothing pleases me better than to see them in good order, and every thing trim, handsome, and thriving about them;—nor nothing hurts me more than to find them otherwise, and the tools and implements laying wherever they were last used, exposed to injuries from Rain, sun, &c^{t}—

I hope you will endeavor to arrange your own concerns in such a manner as to be here as much before the time agreed on as you conveniently can.—Great advantages to me will result from this, by putting the business in a good train before the Fall operations are closed by the frosts of Winter, and all improvements are thereby at an end for that season. On the other hand, inconveniences to yourself may arise from delay on account of the Weather—Navigation, &c^{t}; there having been instances of this River's closing with Ice several days before Christmas which might prevent the removal of y^{r} things in time.—That your living at the Mansion may be attended with no more expence to you than if you had gone to the other place (at which Crow now lives) on account of Gentlemen, who now and then call here out of curiosity—as they are passing through the Country—I shall lay in such things as will be necessary for this purpose, and the occasions (which are but rare) may require.—

I expect to leave this place about the 28th of the Month for Philadelphia, or the neighbourhood of it; any letter therefore which shall arrive before that time will find me here—afterwards it will have to go to Philadelphia where it had better be directed.[1]

I am your friend and Servant

G^{o} Washington.

[1] The yellow fever was raging in Philadelphia, and it was not considered prudent that the President should resume his abode there.

III.

Mount Vernon, 27th Oct. 1793.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 19th came duly to hand.—Tomorrow I leave this for Philadelpa or the vicinity of it; where, when you have occasion to write to me, direct your letters.—

As you seemed to be in doubt whether a proper character could be engaged in ye part of the Country you live in, to look after my Negro Carpenters; and (having much work to do in their way, and not being willing to leave matters at an uncertainty) I have engaged the person who superintends them at present to look after them another year.—He is a good workman himself, and can be active; but has little authority (I ought to have said command, for I have given him full authority) over those who are entrusted to him—and as he is fond of drink, tho' somewhat reformed in this respect, I place no great confidence in him.—He has, however, promised so to conduct himself, as that there shall be no cause for complaint—I thought it was better, therefore, to engage him, than to run any hazard.—I have engaged no person to look after the house People, Ditchers &ct in place of the one now occupied in that business; and unless a very active and spirited man could be had, it will scarcely be essential while you reside at the Mansion house yourself.—The old Man that is employed in this business is, I believe, honest, sober, well meaning, and in some things knowing; but he wants activity and spirit;—and from not being accustomed to Negros, in addition thereto; they are under no sort of awe of him—of course do as they please.—His wages are low, Twenty pounds pr ann. only—under this statement of the case you may do as shall seem best to yourself.—If he is to go, he ought to know it seasonably:—his time is up at Christmas; and nothing betwn us has past either as to his going, or staying.

I shall, before you remove, or by the time you may arrive at Mount Vernon, give you full directions, and my ideas upon the several points which may, between this and then, occur to me.—In all things else you must pursue your own judgment—having the great outlines of my business laid before you.

After having lived the ensuing Winter at the Mansion house you will be better able to decide than at the present moment, how far your convenience, my interest, and indeed circumstances, may render your removal to the other place more eligable.—I shall readily agree to either.—Materials are now providing for building a house for Mr. Crow; whose house it was first proposed you should live in, for him to remove to.—There are a great number of Negro children at the Quarters belonging to the house people; but they have Always been forbid (except two or 3 young ones belonging to the Cook, and the Mulatto fellow Frank in the house, her husband; both of whom live in the Kitchen) from coming within the Gates of the Inclosures of the Yards, Gardens &c^{t}; that they may not be breaking the Shrubs, and doing other mischief; but I believe they are often in there notwithstanding:—but if they could be broke of the practice it would be very agreeable to me, as they have no business within; having their wood, Water, &c^{t} at their own doors without.—

The season has been remarkably sickly, generally, but my family, except a few slight touches of the intermittant fever —chiefly among the blacks—have shared less of it, than I find from report, has been felt in most other places.—

I am Your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

IV.

German Town, 24t Novr 1793.

Mr. Pearce,

On my way to this place (about the last of Octr) I lodged a letter for you in the Post Office at Baltimore, which I hope got safe to your hands, although I have not heard from you since.

I shall begin, now, to throw upon Paper such general thoughts, and directions, as may be necessary for your government when you get to Mount Vernon; and for fear of accidents, if transmitted to you thro' any other channel, will deposit them in the hands of my Nephew, Mr. Howell Lewis, who will remain (though inconvenient to me) at that place until your arrival there; that he may put you in possession, and give you such information into matters as may be useful.—[1]

As my farms stand much in need of manure, and it is difficult to raise a sufficiency of it on them; and the Land besides requires something to loosen and ameliorate it, I mean to go largely (as you will perceive by what I shall hand to you through Mr. Lewis) upon Buck Wheat as a Green manure (Plowed in, when full in blossom)—for this purpose I have requested a Gentleman of my acquaintance in the County of Loudoun, above Mount Vernon, to send to that place in time 450, or 500 bushels of this article for seed.—And as I do not wish to go largely upon Corn, it is necessary I should sow a good many Oats;—my calculation (allowing two bushels to the Acre) is about 400 bushels wanting.—Not

[1] Howell (1771–1822) was 11th, and youngest child of Washington's only sister, Betty, second wife of Col. Fielding Lewis, of Kenmore, Fredericksburg. He was (1792) the President's Secretary. He married Ellen Hackley Pollard, of Richmond, Va., 1795. In 1812 he went to reside on a tract of 1300 acres on the Kanawha (Mason Co.) inherited under Washington's will. (Appendix A.)

more than the half of which can I calculate I have of my own, for Seed next Spring, and therefore if you could carry round with you two hundred, or even 300 bushels to be certain; of those which are good in quality, and free from Onions, I will readily pay for them and the accustomed freight.—That I may know whether to depend upon y^{r} doing this, or not, write me word; that in case of failure with you, I may try to obtain them through some other channel.—

I am Your friend and Servant

G^{o} Washington.

V.

Philadelphia 18^{t} Decem^{r} 1793.

Mr. Pearce,

The paper enclosed with this letter will give you my ideas, generally, of the course of Crops I wish to pursue.—I am sensible more might be made from the farms for a year or two—but my object is to recover the fields from the exhausted state into which they have fallen, by oppressive crops, and to restore them (if possible by any means in my power) to health and vigour.—But two ways will enable me to accomplish this.—The first is to cover them with as much manure as possible (winter and summer).—The 2^{d} a judicious succession of Crops.

Manure can not be had in the abundance the fields require; for this reason, and to open the land which is hard bound by frequent cultivation and want of proper dressings, I have introduced Buck Wheat in the plentiful manner you will perceive by the Table, both as a manure, and as a substitute for Indian Corn for horses &c^{t}; it being a great ameliorater of the soil.—How far the insufferable conduct of my Overseers, or the difficulty of getting Buck Wheat and Oats for seed, will enable me to carry my plan into effect, I am unable at this moment to decide.—You, possibly, will be better able to inform me sometime hence.—Col^{o} Ball of

Leesburgh[1] has promised to use his endeavours to procure and send the first to Mount Vernon; but where to get as much of the latter as will answer my purposes (unless I send them from this city) I know not; but before I can decide on the quantity it may be necessary for me to purchase, it is essential I should know the quantity grown on my own estate; and which after I went to Virginia in September last I directed should no longer be fed away.—The common Oats which are brought from the Eastern Shore to Alexandria for sale, I would not sow—first, because they are not of a good quality—and 2^{dly} because they are rarely, if ever, free from Garlick and wild Onions: with which, unfortunately, many of my fields are already but too plentifully stocked from the source already mentioned; and that too before I was aware of the evil.

I have already said that the insufferable conduct of my Overseers may be one mean of frustrating my plan for the next year.—I will now explain myself.—You will readily perceive by the rotation of Crops I have adopted, that a great deal of Fall plowing is indispensible.—Of this I informed every one of them, and pointed out the fields which were to be plowed at this season.—So anxious was I, that this work should be set about early, that I made an attempt soon after you were at Mount Vernon in September, to begin it; and at several times afterwards repeated the operation in different fields at Dogue-run farm;[2]—but the ground being excessively hard and dry, I found that to persevere would only destroy my horses without effecting the object, in the manner it ought to be, and therefore I quit it; but left positive directions that it should recommence at every farm as soon as ever

---

[1] Col. Burgess Ball, of the revolution, was, like Washington a great-grandson of the immigrant, William Ball, who came to Virginia in 1650, and died in 1669. Col. Burgess Ball (son of Jeduthan Ball) married Frances, dau. of Washington's brother Charles. Appendix C.

[2] More than 1½ miles N. W. from Mount Vernon Mansion.

there should come rain to moysten the earth—and to stick constantly at it, except when the horses were employed in treading out Wheat (which was a work I also desired might be accomplished as soon as possible).—Instead of doing either of these, as I ordered, I find by the reports, that M^cKoy has, now and then, plowed a few days only as if it were for amusement.—That Stuart [1] has but just begun to do it.—And that neither Crow [1] nor Davy [2] at Muddy-hole, had put a plow into the ground so late as the 7^th^ of this month.—Can it be expected then, that frosts, Snow and Rain will permit me to do much of this kind of work before March or April? When Corn planting, Oats sowing, and Buck Wh^t for manure, ought to be going into the gr^d, in a well prepared state, instead of having it to flush up at that season—and when a good deal of Wheat is to be got out with the same horses.—Crow having got out none of his that was stacked in the field, nor Stuart [1] and M^cKoy [1] much of theirs, which is in the same predicament;—the excuse being, as far as it is communicated to me, that their whole time and force since the month of October has been employed in securing their Corn—When God knows little enough of that article will be made.

I am the more particular on this head for two reasons—first to let you see how little dependence there is on such men when left to themselves (for under Mr. Lewis it was very little better)—and 2^dly^ to show you the necessity of keeping these Overseers strictly to their duty—that is—to keep them from running about, and to oblige them to remain constantly with their people;—and moreover, to see at what time they turn out of a morning—for I have strong suspicions that this, with some of them, is at a late hour, the consequence of which to the Negroes is not difficult to foretell.—All these Overseers as you will perceive by their agreements, which I herewith send, are on standing wages; and this with men who are

[1] White overseers. [2] Colored overseer.

not actuated by the principles of honor or honesty, and not very regardful of their characters, leads naturally to endulgences—as *their* profits, whatever may be *mine*, are the same whether they are at a horse race or on the farm—whether they are entertaining company (which I believe is too much the case) in their own houses, or are in the field with the Negroes.

Having given you these ideas, I shall now add, that if you find any one of them inattentive to the duties which by the articles of agreement they are bound to perform, or such others as may reasonably be enjoined,—Admonish them in a calm, but firm manner of the consequences.—If this proves ineffectual, discharge them, at any season of the year without scruple or hesitation, and do not pay them a copper;—putting the non-compliance with their agreem[t] in bar.

To treat them civilly is no more than what all men are entitled to, but, my advice to you is, to keep them at a proper distance; for they will grow upon familiarity, in proportion as you will sink in authority, if you do not.—Pass by no faults or neglects (especially at first) for overlooking one only serves to generate another, and it is more than probable that some of them (one in particular) will try, at first, what lengths he may go.—A steady and firm conduct, with an inquisitive inspection into, and a proper arrangement of everything on your part, will, though it may give more trouble at first, save a great deal in the end—and you may rest assured that in everything that is just, and proper to be done on your part, [you] shall meet with the fullest support on mine.—Nothing will contribute more to effect these desirable purposes than a good example—unhappily this was not set (from what I have learnt lately) by Mr. Whiting, who, it is said, drank freely—kept bad company at my house and in Alexandria—and was a very debauched person—wherever this is the case it is not easy for a man to throw the first stone for fear of having it returned to him;—and this I take to be the true cause why

Mr. Whiting did not look more scrupulously into the conduct of the Overseers, and more minutely into the smaller matters belonging to the Farms—which, though individually [they] may be trifling, are not found so in the agregate; for there is no addage more true than an old Scotch one, that "many mickles make a muckle."

I have had but little opportunity of forming a correct opinion of my white Overseers, but such observations as I have made I will give.

Stuart appears to me to understand the business of a farm very well, and seems attentive to it.—He is I believe a sober man, and according to his own account a very honest one.—As I never found him (at the hours I usually visited the farm) absent from some part or another of his people, I presume he is industrious, and seldom from home.—He is talkative, has a high opinion of his own skill and management—and seems to live in peace and harmony with the Negroes who are confided to his care.—He speaks extremely well of them, and I have never heard any complaint of him.—His work however, has been behind hand all the year, owing he says, and as I believe, to his having too much plowing to do—and the last omission, of not plowing when he knew my motives for wishing it, has been extremely reprehensible—But upon the whole, if he stirs early, and works late, I have no other fault to find than the one I have just mentioned—His talkativeness and vanity may be humoured.

Crow is an active man, and not deficient in judgment.—If kept strictly to his duty would, in many respects, make a good Overseer.—But I am much mistaken in his character, if he is not fond of visiting, and receiving visits.—This, of course, withdraws his attention from his business, and leaves his people too much to themselves; which produces idleness, or slight work on one side, and flogging on the other—the last of which besides the dissatisfaction which it creates, has, in one or two instances been productive of serious consequences

—I am not clear either, that he gives that due attention to his Plow horses and other stock which is necessary, although he is very fond of riding the former—not only to Alexandria &c[t] but about the farm, which I did not forbid as his house was very inconvenient to the scene of his business.—

M[c]Koy appears to me to be a sickly, slothful and stupid fellow.—He had many more hands than were necessary merely for his Crop, and though not 70 acres of Corn to cultivate, did nothing else.—In short to level a little dirt that was taken out of the Meadow ditch below his house seems to have composed the principal part of his Fall work; altho' no finer season could have happened for preparing the second lot of the Mill swamp for the purpose of laying it to grass.—If more exertion does not appear in him when he gets into better health he will be found an unfit person to overlook so important a farm, especially as I have my doubts also of his care and attention to the horses &c[t].

As to Butler, you will soon be a judge whether he will be of use to you or not.—He may mean well, and for ought I know to the contrary may, in some things have judgment; but I am persuaded he has no more authority over the Negroes he is placed, than an old woman would have; and is as unable to get a proper day's Work done by them as she would, unless led to it by their own inclination w[ch] I know is not the case.—

Davy at Muddy-hole[1] carries on his business as well as the White Overseers, and with more quietness than any of them. —With proper directions he will do very well; and probably give you less trouble than any of them, except in attending to his care of the stock, of which I fear he is negligent; as there are deaths too frequent among them.—

Thomas Green (Overlooker of the Carpenters) will, I am persuaded, require your closest attention, without which I be-

[1] A farm about 360 poles N. of Mount Vernon mansion.

lieve it will be impossible to get any work done by my Negro Carpenters—in the first place, because, it has not been in my power, when I am away from home, to keep either him, or them to any settled work; but they will be flying from one trifling thing to another, with no other design, I believe, than to have the better opportunity to be idle, or to be employed on their own business—and in the next place, because—although authority is given to him—he is too much upon a level with the Negroes to exert it; from which cause, if no other every one works, or not, as they please; and carve out such jobs as they like.—I had no doubt when I left home the 28th of Oct. but that the house intended for Crow wd have been nearly finished by this time, as in order to facilitate the execution I bought Scantling, Plank and Shingles for the building; instead of this I do not perceive by his weekly report that a tool has yet been employed in it—nor can I find out by the said report that the Barn at Dogue-run is in much greater forwardness than when I left it.

To correct the abuses which have crept into all parts of my business—to arrange it properly, and to reduce things to system; will require, I am sensible, a good deal of time and your utmost exertions;—of the last, from the character you bear, I entertain no doubt; the other, I am willing to allow, because I had rather you should probe things to the bottom, whatever time it may require to do it, than to decide hastily upon the first view of them; as to establish good rules, and a regular system, is the life, and the soul of every kind of business.—

These (rest of letter missing).

VI.

Philadelphia Decr 1793.

Mr. Pearce,

The letter which I wrote to you on the 18t and the papers therein enclosed with the Plans of the several farms (which

Mr. Lewis was directed to leave with you) were designed to give you a general view of the business entrusted to your care.—I shall now, as intimated in that letter, give you my sentiments on many other matters of a more particular nature.—

Among the first things to be done after you are well fixed yourself, will be, I presume, that of taking an exact account of the Stock of every species—Tools—and implements on each of the farms:—charging them therewith; that a regular account thereof may be rendered whenever called for.—Buy in Alexandria a proper (bound) book for this purpose, and another to enter the weekly reports in.—The latter is required not only for my present satisfaction, but that it may also, at any time hereafter shew in what manner the hands have been employed; and the state of the Stock and other things at any past period; and it is my wish, as this is intended as a register of the proceedings on the farms, that they may be made with correctness;—always comparing the last, with the preceeding weeks report and all differences satisfactorily accounted for.—The Overseers are allowed paper for these Reports. Suffer no excuse therefore for their not coming in to you every Saturday night, that you may be enabled to forward a copy of them to me by the Wednesday's Post following.—And as it is not only satisfactory, but may be of real utility, to know the state of the weather as to heat and cold, but drought or moisture; prefix, as usual, at the head of every Weeks report a Meteorological account of these;—The Thermometer which is at Mount Vernon will enable you to do the first.—

The work essentially necessary to be done by my Carpenters, and which presses most—is—compleating the New Barn at Dogue Run, and the sheds there for horses &c^{t}—building the house for Crow—Repairing my house in Alexandria for Mrs. Fanny Washington—which must be done before the first of May—Inclosing the lot on which it stands for a Garden or

Yard.—Repairing the Millers house.—Removing the larger kind of the Negro quarters (the smaller ones or cabbins, I presume the people with a little assistance of Carts can do themselves) to the ground marked out for them opposite to Crow's New house.—Repairing at a proper time those he will remove from.—Lending aid in drawing the houses at River farm into some uniform shape, in a convenient place.—Repairing the Barn and Stables at Muddy-hole.—Compleating the Dormant Windows in the back of the Stable at Mansion house and putting two in the front of it agreeably to directions already given to Thomas Green—after which, and perhaps doing some other things which do not occur to me at this moment, my intention is to build a large Barn, and sheds for Stables upon the plan of that at Dogue Run (if, on trial it should be found to answer the expectation w^{ch} is formed of it) at River Farm.—

I give you this detail of Carpenters work, that by having the subject before you in a collected view, you may be the better able to direct the execution; and to prevent Green from flying from one thing to another without order or system;—and Then by judging whether he carries it on with that dispatch and judgment which is necessary.

As you know my anxiety with respect to the substitution of live fences in place of dead ones (as soon, and as fast as the nature of things will admit) I should not again mention it, were it not that this is the season for saving the Haws of the thorn—Berries from the Cedar trees—and such things as are fit for the purpose of hedging;—and to prevent trimming the Lombardy Poplar and Willows, that the cuttings may be applied to this use—for as these two last are of very quick growth, I am of opinion fences might soon be raised by means of them, that will be competent against every thing but Hogs, whilst those of slower growth may be coming on to supply their places;—and whether it is not better to raise Porke in styes, is a matter worthy of serious consideration—

for I believe by the common mode I never get the half of what is raised by the Sows; especially if they are kept in good order;—to do which is attended with no small expence, and to have them stolen afterw^{ds} is vexatious.

When I left home, Davy at Muddy hole had finished getting out his Wheat, and had nothing but the security of his Corn and some fencing, to employ his people about, during the fall and Winter—I was induced from this consideration, and the anxious desire I have to reclaim, and lay to grass—my mill swamp, to order him to give all the aid he could to McKoy in the accomplishment of this work but it really appears to me that the fall, fine as it has proved, has actually been spent About I know not what.—What can be done with those swamps, must now be left to you—and the state the weather will put them in.—My hope, and expectation once, was, that the second lot might have been laid to grass next spring if not this Fall, and that the one above it, would have been ditched—grubbed—and planted in Corn—but as the matter now stands, you must be governed by circumstances and your own view of the case; with this caution, not to undertake in this, or in any thing else, more than you can accomplish well;—recollecting always, that a thing but half done is never done;—and well done, is, in a manner done for ever.—

At McKoys, I staked out two Clover lots adjoining the Barn yard, and gave him and Tom Davis (who was present) my ideas respecting them.—The sooner these can be inclosed—especially that on the West side, next the Wood—the better; as it is my wish to plough it this fall, and plant Potatoes therein in the Spring.—Serving that on the East side of the Barn in like manner next year—and the spot which was in oats, adjoining thereto the year following.—It is my intention also, to run a lane from the first Gate you enter going into this Farm up to the Barn yard—and another lane from the Wood to N° 4 across the Meadow, and between

fields N° 3 and 5.—I do not expect that all these things can be accomplished in a moment—but having them in your view at the same time you will know better how to proceed.—As the Wood in N° 5 will be to be cleared when that field comes into Corn, it will be proper that all the Timber, Rails and Wood that is wanted on the farm, should be taken from hence as far as it will go—and cut with an eye to this event.

One of the Grass lots at Muddy hole, the South western one (pointed out to Davy) ought to be plowed up this fall, and planted with Potatoes in the Spring.—And at Union farm it is intended to take of four five acre lots from field N° 2, directly in front of the Barn as will appear more clearly by the sketch herewith enclosed—The lots marked N° 1 and 2 in which, should be sowed in Feb. 7, or beginning of March with clover seed on the Wheat.—At the River farm[1] I propose three lots for Grass, South of the lane in front of the Barn, as you will perceive by another sketch also enclosed.—What will be done with the ground between the Barn at that place and N° 6 when the fence comes to be run there, is left to yourself to decide, after taking a full view of things and seeing what the force is competent to in fencing (of which much is wanting) &c^{t}—Stuart wished much for another fellow at this place, and as that boy Cyrus, at Mansion house, is now nearly a Man, and very unfit I believe to be entrusted with horses, whose feed, there is strong suspicions he steals, I have no objection to your sending there—nor indeed have I any to your disposing of any of the others, differently from what they are, after you have taken time to consider what arrangements can be made for the best, and most advantageous purposes.—Thomas Davis and Muclus must however be considered as among the tradesmen; and when not employed in making and laying of Bricks and other

[1] Across Little Hunting Creek, and about 360 poles E. of Mount Vernon Mansion. Sketches, and rotation system, follow these letters.

jobs in that way, may be aiding the Carpenters.—And the fellow called Muddy hole Will, as he has for many years been a kind of Overseer, had better remain in his present station;—with respect to the rest, I have no choice about them.—

There is nothing which stands in greater need of regulation than the Waggons and Carts at the Mansion House, which always whilst I was at home appeared to me to be most wretchedly employed—first in never carrying half a load;—2^{dly} in flying from one thing to another;—and thirdly in no person seeming to know what they really did; and often times under pretence of doing this, that, and the other thing, did nothing at all;—or what was tantamount to it.—that is—instead of bringing in, or carrying to any place, full loads, and so many of them in a day; the Waggon, or a Cart, under pretence of drawing Wood, or carrying Staves to the Mill[1] w^{d} go to the places from whence they were to be taken, and go to sleep perhaps; and return with not more than half a load.—Frequently have I seen a Cart go from the Mansion house, or from the river side to the new Barn with little or no more lime or sand in it, than a man would carry on his back—the consequence of this was that the Brick layers were half their time idle; for it required no more time to make the trip with a full load than it did with half a load—of course, double the q^{ty} would be transported under good regulation.

You will perceive by my agreem^{t} with Ehler, the Gardener, that he and his wife were to eat of the Victuals that went from my Table (in the Cellar) instead of having it Cooked by his wife as had been the custom with them.—At the time that agreement was made I kept a Table for Mrs. Fanny Washington, but as she has resolved to live in Alexandria, this will no longer be kept up; and therefore it would be best

[1] At the head of Dogue Creek (as distinguished from the "Run") a mile N. W. of the Mansion.

I should conceive, to let them return to their old mode, and for the young Gardener to eat with them—but as the agreement is otherwise I would not force this upon them, unless it was their own choice—especially if Butler remains there, for in that case as Lucy (the Cook) must get Victuals for him, it will make but little difference whether she gets for one or more; you will therefore do what seems best, and most agreeable in this matter taking care that they have a sufficiency without waste, or misapplication—I am very willing to allow them enough, and of such provisions, day by day, as is wholesome and good, but no more—they have, each of them been allowed a bottle of Beer a day—and this must be continued to them—that is a quart each, for when I am from home the Beer will not be bottled though it may be brewed as the occasion requires—The Gardener has too great a propensity to drink, and behaves improperly when in liquor;—admonish him against it as much as you can, as he behaves well when sober—understands his business—and I believe is not naturally idle—but only so when occasioned by drink—His wife has been put in charge of the spinners—that is, to deliver out the Wool and flax, and receive the thread, yarn &c^{t},—she seems well disposed, but how far she is worthy of trust, or is capable of having the work done properly, you will be better able to judge after a while, than I am now.—Method, in all these things, is desirable, and after it is once adopted, and got into a proper train things will work easy.—

Do not suffer the Quarter Negro children to be in the Kitchen, or in the yards unless brought there on business—as besides the bad habit—they too frequently are breaking limbs, or twigs from, or doing other injury to my Shrubs—some of which at a considerable expence, have been propagated.[1]—

[1] "We viewed the gardens and walks, which are very elegant, abounding with many curiosities. Fig-trees, raisins, limes, oranges, etc., large English mulberries, artichokes, etc."—Amariah Frost's narrative of a day at Mount Vernon, in 1797, privately printed by Hon. Hamilton B. Staples.

From some complaints made by my Negroes, that they had not a sufficient allowance of meal, and from a willingness that they should have enough, the quantity was increased by Mr. Whiting so as to amount (by what I have learnt from Mr. Stuart) to profusion.—This is an error again on the other side—My wish and desire is that they should have as much as they can eat without waste and no more.—Under these Ideas I request you would examine into this matter and regulate their allowance upon just principles.—I always used to lay in a great quantity of Fish for them—and when we were at home Meat, fat, and other things were now and then given to them besides:—But it would seem (from their acc^{ts} at least) that the Fish which were laid in for them last spring have disappeared without their deriving much benefit from them.—

By this time I expect the Hogs that were put up for Porke, either are killed—or are fit to kill.—I request, after every person has had their allowance given to them, that the residue may be made into Bacon, and due attention given to it; for all most every year, since we left home, half of it or more, has been spoilt—either for want of salt, or want of proper attention in smoking it; if not spoiled in the pickle.—Davy at Muddy hole, has always had two or three hund^{d} weight of Porke given to him at killing time, and I believe the Insides of the Hogs—that is—the Hastlets, Guts (after the fat is stripped off) &c^{t} is given among the other Negroes at the different places.—

After the drilled Wheat at Union farm[1] is taken off, let particular care be used to prevent its being mixed with any other; as, if it answers the character given of it, it will be a great acquisition.—That, and the drilled wheat at Stuarts are of the same kind, and were sown in drills that the ground might be worked whilst it was growing, and the most made

[1] 140 poles W. of Mount Vernon mansion.

of it that can be.—Whether to sow the ground which is at Union farm (in this Wheat) with Buck Wheat and grass Seeds immediately after harvest or with Buck Wheat alone to be plowed in for Manure and grass seeds afterwards I shall leave to you to decide.—I shall want all the ground within that Inclosure laid down with grass and leave the manner of doing it to you.—And as the other parts within the same Inclosure—as also in that of McKoys, was sown very late in the fall with grass seeds pray examine them attentively, from time to time, and if you shall be of opinion that the Seed is not come well, or is too thin, sprinkle as much more over it as you shall deem necessary, as I am very anxious to have them well taken, and without delay with grass.—The Wheat fields at Dogue-run are to be sown in the Month of February or March with grass Seeds—No. 3 with Clover alone—The other with Clover and Timothy or Clover and Orchard grass mixed, as it is intended to be laid to Grass.—

It is indispensably necessary that the alteration marked out in the Mill Race should be accomplished as soon as possible—1st because the waste of Water in the old part (which it avoids) is more than can be afforded except at times of the greatest plenty—and 2dly because I am at more expence and trouble in repairing (after every heavy rain) the breaches, in the part that will be thrown out, than in digging the new.—There is another job that is essential; and that is, to make the Post and Rail fence from the Millers house up to the trunnel fence which runs across the meadow,—or to the next cross fence, if that lot is cultivated next year of such stout and strong materials and of such a height as to bid defiance to trespassers of every kind, among wch the worthless people who live near it are the worst as I am satisfied they give every aid in their power which can be done without discovery to let in their Hogs—The whole of this outer fence, will be, I am sure, to be done anew; but it can only be accom-

plished by degrees—but let that which is done, be compleated effectually as well by a good and sufficient ditch as by a stout Post and rail fence—along which if a hedge of Honey locust could be got to grow entirely round it would form a sufficient barrier against bad neighbours as they would hardly attempt to cut them down to let their Stock in upon me which, I am sure is the case at present as without the aids some of them derive from my Inclosures and their connexion with my Negroes they would be unable to live upon the miserable land they occupy.—

Whenever the field N° 3 at Union farm is prepared for a Crop, which was intended to be the case next year—if the piece of Wood within, is touched at all, let there be a handsome clump of trees left at the further end of it—or more than one—according to the shape and growth of the Wood.—

I have, for years past, been urging the Superintendant of my business at Mount Vernon to break a number of Steers to the yoke, that no set of oxen may be worked low—but do not believe it is yet done to the extent I wish.—My reasons for this measure are, that the oxen may never be worked after they are eight years of age, but then fatted for market; —that by having a number of them, they may, by frequent shifting, always be in good order;—and because, when they are only fed, when they do work—and at other times only partake of the fare which is allowed to the other cattle,—twenty yoke is not more expensive than five yoke.—

The Potatoes which were made last year, except such as you may require for your own eating, which you are welcome to, must all be preserved for Seed; and will be short enough, I fear, for the purposes they are intended.—It has been intimated that several of the large stone Jugs which were sent to the different farms with spirits in them at Harvest has never yet been returned.—Call upon the several Overseers to give them in immediately, or they will have to pay for them. —Inclosed is an Inventory of the several articles which are

in the Store house at Mansion house which I send for your information.—Take an account of what is delivered from thence—to whom—and for what purpose—that it may be known how things go.—

There is one thing I wish to impress you pretty strongly with, that you may use every precaution in your power to guard against—and that is—suffering my horses to be rode at unseasonable hours of the night without your knowledge or that of the Overseers.—No doubt rests upon my mind that this is too much practiced and is one, if not the primary cause of my loosing a number of horses—the poverty of others—and the slinking of foals which happens so frequently that I make a miserable hand of breeding Mules.—It must be remembered in time, that the Jack and Stud horse are advertised for covering the ensuing Season—February or beginning of March, however, will be in time.—

I am told that the Well by the Quarter is rendered useless for want of a proper rope.—It is sometime since I wrote to Mr. Lewis to get a hair one (for none other answers well) from the Rope Maker in Alexandria—but what he has done in it I know not.—He will be able to inform you; and he, and the Gardeners wife, will let you know what Negroes have been cloathed and who are yet to Cloath, with the means of doing it.—

My Superfine, and fine flour always waits for directions from me, to be sold;—but the midlings and Ship stuff you will dispose of whenever you can get a suitable price, and your want of money may require.—And this also may be done with Beeves, Mutton &c^{t}; after supplying the several demands upon the former, where it has not already been done.—The Miller and Thomas Green, I understand, have each had a Beef, the weights of which will, I presume be given to you by Mr. Lewis; and as it will exceed their allowance of this article, they must account for it by lessening the quantity of Porke, or be charged the (Alexandria) market

price for it.—And as Thomas Green has drawn in the course of last year more Meal from my Mill than his allowance let him be charged with the Overplus and It is necessary you should know that he is always craving money and other things but let him no more than his dues—for he is in debt I believe to every body and whatever is advanced beyond would probably be lost.—

I have directed Mr. Lewis to leave with you an acc^{t} of all the money he has paid, and what (if any) may remain in his hands.—And it is my request that you will pay no acc^{ts} (not of your own contracting) without learning from him that they are due, or first sending them on to me; for Mr. Whiting always paid as he went, and what was left unpaid either by him, or contracted after his death, was paid to the utmost farthing whilst I was at home.—So that I know of nothing remaining unpaid except the Overseers wages, and to the Weaver, but what has fallen under Mr. Lewis's management since I left home and of course can be explained by him.—

Send me an exact account of the quantity of Corn made at each farm and the yield of each field.—I directed Mr. Lewis to have a certain quantity, at each farm put into seperate Corn houses for the use thereof; and the residue in other houses for the Mansion house, and other purposes—and I hope it has been done, but wish to be informed.—The Keys of the last mentioned houses I did not intend should be left in the care of the Overseers, but the doors well secured and, the keys remain in your own custody.—

As your family may be the better accomodated by it, I wrote Mr. Lewis sometime ago that you might lodge, yourself, in the room which he now occupies; and I repeat it to you, as I am willing to make your situation as comfortable as may be.—

It would be well to have the Seins overhauled immediately, that if new ones are wanting, or the old ones requiring much

repair, they may be set about without loss of time;—for if this work is delayed until the spring the Sein Netters will be so much employed, as to disappoint you altogether and of course my people of Fish.—If twine is not to be had in Alexandria let me know it, and I will, by the first vessel afterwards send it from hence.—

If I recollect rightly, Thomas Green is allowed a certain quantity of Wood, by the agreement which has been entered into between us (by the old one I know it was so) it would be well therefore to have the quantity carried to his house and corded up at once, otherwise he will be always complaining, and denying that the quantity (six cord I think it is) has been rec^{d} by him.—

I shall write to you if nothing extraordinary prevents it, by every Mondays Post, and shall expect a copy of the Weekly Reports by the Mail which leaves Alexandria on Thursday if no change has taken place—by which means I shall write to you, and receive a letter from you every Week when the occurrences (not contained in the reports) may be mentioned.—And now, having given you my sentiments upon all those points with which my recollection has furnished me I have only to add that the enclosed letters (which are sent open for you to peruse and then to put wafers in) will shew the person to whom they are directed what it is they have to expect, and the ground they stand upon.—Wishing you well I remain

Your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

VII.

Philadelphia Jan 6th 1794.

Mr. Lewis—or

Mr. Pearce,

The Reports of the 28th of December have been received, and Mr. Butlers acc^{t} therewith—As I have no acc^{t} against him, and Mr. Whiting only kept memorandums, instead of

regular accounts, he must be paid according to his own statement.—for this, and other purposes, I send two bank notes for one hundred dollars each.

It is very unlucky that the late spell of freezing weather should be suffered to pass away without filling the Ice house. —do not let this happen again; but embrace the first freezing that happens to accomplish this work.

Let me know what quantity of Oats have been threshed at the Mansion house, and what has been done with them?— By the time employed in getting them out there ought to be a good many of them.—I wish to know also what quantity Stuart has?—These two parcels, together with those at Dogue Run I directed to be reserved for seed—and when the whole quantity contained at the different places are known I shall be able to decide how much more to provide—or what further to do in the case.—

There was Oats raised from a few grains of a particular sort which I sent to my Gardener last Spring—get these from him, and make the most of them, by sowing them in drills the coming Spring.—By Mr. Jefferson, I sent a Bundle of Poccon or Illinois nut[1] and desired them to be left at the Post Office in Alexandria.—When they are rec^{d} desire the Gardener to plant them in a nursery.—I shall send more by the first vessel, or other proper conveyance w^{ch} shall offer.— I also gave the Gardener a few seed of East India hemp to raise from, enquire for the seed which has been saved, and make the most of it at the proper Season for sowing.

What is the present appearance of the growing Wheat?—I am in a hurry and shall only add, that as soon as I hear of Mr. Pearce's being settled at Mount Vernon—I shall write more fully on some other matters.

I am—&c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

---

[1] Pursh ("Flora of North America," 1816) calls the "Pecan" the "Illinois Nut." Jefferson retired from the Cabinet at the close of 1793.

P. S.

Recollecting since writing the foregoing, that Mr. Whiting's Mem° Book was here I have desired Mr. Dandridge[1] to take a copy from it of the charges against Butler; which he has done, and it is now enclosed—By this you will settle with him.

VIII.

Philadelphia 19th Jan^{y} 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 14th inst^{t} came to my hands to-day, when the Post ought to have been in yesterday.

Having been very full in my late letters to you, I shall have less to say in this.—The condition you describe my stock to be in at Union farm, and at Dogue run, and want of shelter for them at those places; is a fresh instance of the misconduct of Crow and M^{c}Koy; and of the necessity of watching their ways well.—As you have taken Butler again, you must make the most you can of him.—The man means well, but he wants activity and spirit to fit him for the Overlooker of Negroes.—You will find him useful though in raising hedges, &c^{t}—and particularly so in cultivating the French furze.[2]—It was he that induced me to send for the seed of it, w^{ch} will be sent to you by the first vessel to Alexandria—about 40 lbs. of it.—

Let the most that can, be made of the pint of Oats which the Gardener raised last year, and of the Hemp seed; but more especially of the St. Foin seed[3] which I desired him

---

[1] Bartholomew, son of Judge Dandridge (General Court of Va.) who had been a member of the Virginia Convention of 1776. He (Bartholomew) was thus a nephew of Mrs. George Washington. He succeeded Tobias Lear (1 Sep. 1793) as the President's Secretary, and was subsequently Secretary of Legation in London. He died in 1802, while Consul at St. Domingo.

[2] *Ulex Europæus.*

[3] *Onobrychis* (*i.e.* what asses like to gnaw) *sativa.* Saintfoin (holy or wholesome hay) is a leguminous or bean-like plant.

to be particularly choice of; as I wish much to get into a stock of it.—The latter must not be sown where Hares can get to it, or they will cut it down as fast as it springs.—

When M^c^Koy is getting out the Oats at Dogue-run, have a strict eye to him.—He told me he expected 150 Bush^ls^ From the stack, and if all the Oats which grew in what was called the new ground, went into it, there ought to be 200 at least—but what by waste, mismanagement, or something worse, I have, of late, got very little from any of my Overseers;—what becomes of it is more difficult to determine.—

If you should have another freezing spell, do not by any means omit to fill the Ice house with Ice, as the advantage of it for keeping fresh meat &c^t^ is indiscribable; but before you begin to put a weight on the floor let both it and the joice (or the Sleepers) be well examined, lest, by being rotten they may give way and destroy those who may be below pounding the Ice as it is thrown in.—If the floor is found unsafe take it away altogether—I do not know but that the Ice will keep as well without, as with it.

If on account of the springiness of the ground you cannot proceed in digging the Mill race, which is a thing to be regretted, you might employ the Ditchers on the fence from the Millers, leading upwards, for the purpose of securing the Meadow lots if nothing *more* pressing calls for their labour. —Opening the Visto is not a work of necessity; and it never was intended to be extended beyond Muddy-hole swamp; to which I think it ought to have got before this time.—

You may keep Isaac and the boy Joe, constantly employed about the Carts, Plows, Harrows &c^t^ until they are in order.—Let stuff, however, be always in the Barn that the other Carpenters may work upon, when the weather will not permit them to be out.—What are M^rs^ Fanny Washington's Carpenters employed about, that they should (altho' hired by me) be withdrawn from mine so long.—All I know they had to do, was, out of the materials of an old Tobacco house, to

make a shed for her plow horses—ask Tayler what more than this they have done, and by whose authority?

The Midlings and ship stuff may be sold whenever you find the market good; and the money applied to such uses as are proper.—If twine (for the Seins) is to be had in Alexandria, it will be better to get it there than to depend upon having it sent from thence.—And you have my full consent to give the Cattle as much Salt as you judge necessary, preventing waste.—

I perceive by the Report from River farm that Stuart is plowing in N° 7 (a field that was in wheat last year, and by the rotation which I have transmitted to you, was intended to remain in pasture this year)—What is the meaning of this?—N° 1, by the copy I have by me is intended for Buck Wheat as a Manure, and N° 3 for Corn; but I do not recollect that any direction has ever been given for plowing N° 7.—If the case be otherwise I have forgot it; and the design must be for Oats and Buck wheat for Crops; and of course, if accomplished will require 120 bush^{ls} of the first, and 60 of the latter more than I had calculated to seed the field; the contents being 120 acres.—Let me know how this matter really stands.—How much of the field is already plowed—and whether you will be able to prepare the residue of it; and at the same time execute your other plowing well, and in season, with your present force of horses aided by Oxen; which, in the Eastern states is almost the only teams they plow with.

I am your friend

G° Washington.

IX.

Philadelphia Jan^{y} 26th 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 22^{d}, and the Reports, came duly to hand by yesterdays Post.

You will perceive by my rotation plan (with which you

have been furnished—or rather by the notes annexed thereto) that if the fields allotted for Corn at the several farms were deemed inadequate to the consumption of this article, that such parts of the fields as were designed for Buck Wheat, *as a Crop*, might be converted to this purpose, and I repeat it again here; leaving the proportion thereof to your own judgment, with a proviso, however, that there be Buck Wheat enough sown to raise a sufficiency of Seed for all the purposes of my rotation system another year; as it is certainly a reflection upon a farmer to have his Seeds to buy.—The reason why I prefered increasing the quantity of Corn ground in these fields, is, that nothing might interrupt the manurings of *one field*, at each farm, every year with green manure; whilst the Cowpens, and dung from the farm yards, would do the like to the *poor parts* of a second field, annually.—By this means, and a judicious rotation, I am not without hope of bringing my land, in time, into a profitable state of cultivation;—and unless some such practice as this prevails, my fields will be growing worse and worse every year, until the Crops will not defray the expence of the culture of them.—

By the report of the week before last, it appeared that Stuart was plowing in N° 7; but as that field, according to the rotation which I have by me, was to remain this year in Pasture I could not account for it, otherwise than as a mistake in him, or a direction of mine which I had forgotten;—the reason however of my mentioning the matter again, in this letter, is, that if that field is designed for Oats and Buck Wheat, the part, or such proportion thereof (as you like) which was designed for the latter, may go into Corn in like manner as is allowed at the other farms;—but if it has not been touched, nor intended to be touched this year, (and I again desire that you will not undertake more than you can execute well) then such part of N° 1 as you may deem proper may be put into Corn:—or you may do what Stuart suggested

to me before I left home—namely—to plant *all* the *good* ground in both N° 1 and N° 3 with Corn and sow all the broken and poor parts of them with Buck Wheat for manure;—the same might be done at the other farms;—remembering always, that these fields are to be sown with Wheat in the Months of August and September next agreeably to the plan of Rotation, which you have.

I will send by the first vessel going round to Alexandria 14 bush[ls] of Clover Seed, as I fear what you have (except of your own growth) is bad; and because I would not be sparing of Seed, either to the ground you have to sow, or that which has been sown, and is now missing.—Of Timothy Seed I shall send more, as 10 bushels is sufficient I conceive to answer all your purposes; but it is to be feared that the Timothy and Orchard grass seeds have got mixed (as they are very much alike) for I am sure there was Orchard grass seed saved, and Butler and Old Jack ought to know what was done with it.—That you may know what dependence to place on the Clover seed which went from hence last year, and put into the Store mix it well together, and then promiscuously take out a certain (precise) number of seeds and see what proportion of them will come up.—The Gardener can ascertain this or by putting them under a brick on the ground, in a warm place, you can do it yourself.—I shrewdly suspect that that seed was bad even last year, otherwise the clover lot at the Mansion, and the Meadows at Union and Dogue run farms, would not be so dificient now (the latter after twice sowing in some parts).

Speaking of these Seeds, I must give you a hint of what I also very strongly suspect;—and that is—that my Negro Seedsmen take a considerable toll from every thing that goes into their hands—for this reason, make it an invariable rule before it is delivered to them, to mix in a bushel of Sand or well dried earth, as many pints of seed as you allow to an Acre, and let it be sown in this manner.—Two valuable pur-

poses are answered thereby—1st in this State, the Seed is rendered unsaleable;—and 2dly a person not skilled in sowing small seeds, will do it more regularly when thus mixed; for being accustomed to sow a bushel of Wheat to the Acre, the same cost, and fill of the hand, does for the small seed when so mixed;—in doing of which pains is to be taken that the mixture is perfect; otherwise one part of the acre will have more sand and less seed than the other, and so vice versa.

Give what Manure you can to the lot at Mansion house which is to be sown with Oats and grass seeds; or to the one which is to be planted with Potatoes, as circumstances and your own judgment shall direct:—for both, I do not presume there is dung enough.—It is better to do one well than both by halves.—

The Ground between N° 6 at River farm, and the Barn lane, you may apply to the purposes mentioned in your letter of the 22d; and let it remain under the fence which incloses N° 6 until a division fence can be run.—It may be worth some consideration whether Potatoes (if some part of the Clover lot in front of the Barn does not require to be broke up) ought not to be planted in part of it.—

You may continue to eat of my meat, as the white people will take it after it goes from your table, until your family arrives, and afterwards also if it shall be found more convenient than to keep separate stocks, as I believe it will.—I perceive Thomas Green draws fine flour from the Mill when the Miller and others are content with Midlings; and which I am sure is good enough for him.—Does his agreement in this respect differ from the others?—

The thorn berries should be buried a year before they are sown, in order that they may pass through a state of fermentation;—unless they do this they will not come up.[1]—Butler ought to be acquainted with the process, if he is the

[1] A *cratægus* about the District of Columbia, now called the "Washington Thorn."

practical farmer he pretends to be.—The Cedar berries should have all the casing of the Seed rubbed of [f] before they are sown, or they will not come up.—

Mr. Dulany is right in his application, but when you pay him the hundred dollars (which is herein sent you) take his receipt for £150 pounds on acc^{t} of the Rent due to M^{rs} French for the year 1793;—and give him a receipt for £120 for the Rent he owes me, for the same year.[1]—

There is part of the Wages for 1793 due to the Estate of Mr. Anthony Whiting; but how much I am unable at this moment to say precisely.—They commenced the first of Jan^{y}. and he died about the middle of June, but how much of my money which was in his hands he may have applied to his own use I cannot, without some investigation, decide.—If the Administrators have any thing which leads to this, obtain it from them, that the acc^{t} may be closed; as I do not want to keep them out of what is due, a day—I remain

Your friend &c^{t}
G^{o} Washington.

X.

Philadelphia Feb^{y} 9th 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Since writing you a few lines on the 3^{d} instant, I have received your letter of the 28th of last month, and that of the third of the present.—

If you are satisfied with Mr. Butlers conduct and exertions, I shall be so.—He has always appeared to me as a well disposed man,—obliging and sober, one who has seen better days—and must have had a good deal of practical knowledge in husbandry.—If you can make him active, and will support

[1] Benjamin, brother of Daniel Dulany, the eminent lawyer of Annapolis, married Miss French, heiress of Rose Hill, and resided at Shuter's Hill, near Alexandria. He had charge of the estate of his wife's mother, the widow of Daniel French.

his authority, I do not see why he may not be more useful to you than a young man, who might have a greater propensity to be running about.—

With respect to the French furse, I shall leave it altogether to you and him, to manage it as you shall think best; for in truth I know nothing of the nature of the Plant.—In the disposal of the seed, how[r], (where it is ultimately to remain) you cannot go amiss.—The best guide perhaps is to sow it in soil which is most congenial to it:—and if this could be found around the enclosures at the Mansion house, I should give it a preference;—but in this also, do as shall appear best.—

I am of opinion the Post and rail fence which runs from the Mill up to the tumbling dam, and so on, is too low and unsubstantial for an out[r] fence, against such neighbours as I have in that quarter; it was for this reason I proposed a more substantial one;—especially, as the good posts and Rails in that fence would do very well for the inner and cross fences. —I conceive also, that the outside ditch ought to be widened, and deep[e]ned.—In a word, to make the whole of the exterior fence so formidable, and the Rails so close together, as to prevent trespass even from pigs;—without this I shall never enjoy the sole benefit of my Inclosures; nor keep the Meadows along the Mill swamp from injury.—

The out fence at the Mansion house I am sensible stands in great need of repair, and I shall be much pleased by your repairing it, and well; as soon as circumstances will permit.— The idea of getting rails out of the dead, and decaying timber, I much approve; for the waste which has been committed on my timber and Wood hitherto, has really been shameful —I have no doubt, if the trees which have been fallen in all parts of my land, and only a small part of them used, were corded for fire wood instead of lying to rot on the ground that they would sell for many hundreds of pounds.—You will find it necessary, I presume, whenever you undertake the Mansion house (out) fence, to get the rails tolerably con-

venient, on acc^{t} of the Cartage.—It has always been my intention to clear, in the same manner the ground now is, in front of the house, from the white gates as the road goes towards Alexandria, up to the little old field; and to extend the fence out to it whenever a convenient moment should be found for the purpose.—If there be, therefore, any stuff fit for Rails within that space, two purposes will be answered by using it; namely, fencing, and clearing the ground of its growth; but I fear there are but few trees that will answer for the first, that is for rails.—

If you will examine the little sketch of the lots at Union farm, which was enclosed in one of my former letters, you can be at no loss in laying them off—a slipe of N° 2, from the fence of N° 1 to the fence of N° 3, of the breadth mentioned in that sketch, gives you the four lots; and dividing this slipe into four equal parts gives you the size of each lot.—The two next to field N° 1, are those which are to be sown with Clover on the wheat, because they have been cowpenned.—The other two must remain to succeed, in order, as have been mentioned in former letters.—

If I do not confine myself as nearly as circumstances will permit to my rotation system, this year, I never shall get into it at all; for which reason, although I might find ground better adapted to Corn than what was intended for Buck Wheat (for a Crop). It is my desire that you will attend to, and pursue the course w^{ch} has been mentioned in my letter of the 26th of last Month; or in the Oat gr^{d}, if you sh^{d} want Seed Oats.

Let me know every now and then how the growing Wheat and Barley looks, as a week or two may change the appearance of them materially.—

What, or how much is done to the new race of the Mill? and at which end did they begin?—Is it got to its depth? and carried on a level, what has been done?—

I have no chance to get honey locust seed this year;—and

as it is thought improper to sow the french furze for the purpose of transplanting, the ground prepared by the Gardener for these things will be useless;—But as I have got about a quart, or a little more of what is called White bent seed, which is given to me as a very valuable grass,[1] I wish you would prepare about a quarter of an Acre of gr^{d} (for I would not chuse to put the seed in more than that) in one of the New Meadows at Dogue-run or Union farm, and sow it at the time mentioned in the enclosed letter.—If no opportunity offers of sending it by water with the Clover Seed &c^{t} I will send it by Post.—

Let the Gardener know that the seed he wrote for shall also be sent at the same time, with some others which will require his particular skill and attention.—You have never informed me how much St. Foin and India Hemp seed he has saved.—

If my Cattle and Sheep receive all the attention and care that is necessary, I can require no more, if they should die;—but it shews how essensial it is to pick, cull, and sell off before it is too late, and to provide well for the rest, and this I hope will be the case another year;—and especially in attending to the breeding of them; both as it respects the choice of the Males (particularly) and the seasons proper for their going to the females.—

In a letter which has just been received from Mrs. Fanny Washington, she requests me to desire you, to rent her fishing landing at Taylers on the best terms you can obtain and make it a condition that the person so renting it, shall furnish for her own use two Barrels of Shad, and four of Herrings—and as many of the latter as hath usually been put up for the use of the Negros under his (Taylers) care; of which he can inform you.—It is my wish you should do this.—

---

[1] "A valuable grass" are the words applied by Asa Gray to this same *agrastis alba*, or White Bent—a pale green, distinguished from the "Red-top."

Col° Ball must have the three shoats he applies for—a boar and two sows.—I was in hopes the last spell of freezing weather w^d have enabled you to fill the Ice house.—It is very desirable it should be so, as the convenience on acc^t of fresh meat &c^t in the Summer is inconceivably great in the country.—

It appears by Mr. Lewis's accounts that Mr. Stuart has only rec^d £15. 12.—The difference between that Sum and his wages, is yet due to him ; unless he has received money from Mr. Whiting of which, if the fact is so, he unquestionably knows, and will tell.—Crow's and M^cKoy's wages are also due, and must be paid.—If you have not money, nor a prospect of raising it from the Middlings and Ship stuff in time for these purposes, let me know it, and I will send it from hence.—

I have nothing to add at present but to beg you will make my people (about the Mansion house) be careful of the fire; for it is no uncommon thing for them to be running from one house to another in cold windy nights with sparks of fire flying, and dropping as they go along, without paying the least attention to the consequences.—

You will remember in time that my house in Alexandria is got in order for Mrs. Fanny Washington; as I have promised to do this by the time mentioned to you in former letters.—If my Carpenters could be prevailed upon to go on with their work as they ought to do, I intended to build Daries both at Union and Dogue-run farm; to see if the Milk at each could not be turned to some account;—but the lower part I should build of Brick like that in the Neck, where Stuart lives.—I remain

Your friend &c^t

G° Washington.

P. S.

If upon tryal, the Clover seed you have is found to be good, it would be well to sow what you have upon the first

Snow that covers the ground after this letter reaches you.—What I have here shall go by the first Vessel for Alexandria; but when this may happen is impossible to say, as the Navigation of the Delaware is interrupted by Ice.

Yrs &c^{t} G. W.

XI.

Philadelphia 16th of Feb^{y} 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 11th instant, covering the reports of the preceeding week, came regularly to hand, and gave me concern to hear of the death of Mr. Stuarts daughter.—What was her complaint?

My intention, with respect to the repairs of my house in Alexandria, and inclosing the lot, was, that every particle of the work, except putting it together, should be prepared at Mount Vernon, and carried thither by Water; for sure I am, if the whole was to be executed in Town that four faithful workmen would do more *there* in one week than any four of mine would do in a month.—I expected that Green, or some one that was a judge of work, would examine critically what was to be done, that the whole might be carried on in the manner I have just mentioned.—This, as far as the dwelling house is concerned, has been done already, but not I believe with the accuracy that is necessary to prevent mistakes.—In truth, the Man who lives in it, ought, by his agreement, to have kept the house &c^{t} in perfect repair; for that is the only compensation he proposed (I believe) to make me for the use of it; and when I saw him last, in October, he told me that he had made a new door, or doors, and some sashes; and was going on with the work.—It might be well therefore, the first time you go to town, to examine minutely into the matter—see what he has done—what he talks of doing—on what terms—and how far he may be depended upon for what he engages;—remembering always that the house must be in

order by the time you have been informed of.—Whether this man (that is the tenant) is a joiner, or house Carpenter himself, or not, I am unable to say: If the former, and he is to be Depended upon, all you can get out of him, *in time*, by way of *compensation* for Rent, will be so much saved to me; but nothing that is essential to the two houses, must be left to uncertainties.—Inclosing the lot in time is not quite so material; but let it be done in a very substantial manner whenever it is set about;—with such Posts and Rails (close enough together) as will compleatly secure a garden, whenever it is converted to that use, and not easily pulled down for firing.—You might—in order to know what the work can be accomplished for, by hiring—get a respectable workman of Alexandria to examine the two houses carefully, set down everything wanting to them—and the lowest he will do it for.—I could, after receiving this, with your opinion thereupon, be better able to decide whether to hire or employ my own people.—This may also be done with respect to enclosing the lot; though I conceive there would be more propriety in doing the latter than the former, with my own Carpenters.—If large and stout Cedar Posts, and chesnut or Cyprus Rails could be bought reasonably it would be better than to get them of Oak, from my own land, and let the estimate of the workman, you may consult, be made on the supposition of their being so.—In w^{ch} case, it might be better to employ him; for otherwise they would, more than probably be to be brought from Alexandria to Mount Vernon and then to go back again, or my Carpenters must go there to dress—Mortise—and tenant them; which, as I have observed before, I am sure would afford them the opportunity of being idle.—

I am so well satisfied of Thomas Greens unfitness to look after my Carpenters, that nothing but the helpless situation in which you find his family, has prevailed on me to retain him 'till this time: but if you perceive more and more, as your opportunities encrease, that he is not to be entrusted,

you had better be looking out in time to supply his place another year if there should not be cause to turn him sooner off.—

When he has compleated the New Barn at Dogue run, let it be well cleaned out, and a good lock put upon the lower door—the Key of which either keep yourself,—or order M^cKoy never to let it be out of his own locked Chest.—Then try how the treading floor will answer the purpose for which it was constructed.—

I perceive my Overseers are beginning to report the increase of Lambs this year as they did last; by which I never know what they lose.—Let them know it is my expectation, that, every lamb that falls, and every one that dies in the week, and what are actually in being at the time, is to be precisely set down.—It is from hence only I can form a judgment of their care and attention to them.—According to their mode of rendering the account, I may, if an hundred Lambs fall in a week, and fifty of them die, have an increase of 50 only in the report; and although this is true in fact, it is by no means a fair—or a satisfactory state of the case.—The missing report of Mr. Stuart ought yet to come forward, otherwise there will be a gap, or break in them.—

Whenever you shall have received the amount of Mr. Lewis's order on Mr. Ross, let me be informed of it; because I shall *then* pay the money here.—

Under cover with this letter you will receive, and I hope in good order, the White bent grass seeds mentioned in my last letter ;—half an ear of very early ripening Corn ;—the Garden seeds written for by Ehler ;—and 4 kinds of seeds sent me by a Gentleman in England ; some (or I believe all) of which came from the East Indias.—In my last I gave directions concerning the Bent grass, and therefore shall say nothing about it here :—If the Corn is not planted where it can be protected, it will all be eaten in its green state.—The Gardener will see by the prices annexed to the Seeds he sent for,

how necessary it is for him to save his own Seeds, which I hope he will do hereafter ;—and I desire he will take particular care of the other four sorts of foreign seeds;—two of which he will perceive must be sown in moist ground, or kept moist after it is sown.—Let him number the papers which contain these seeds, and drive stakes with corrisponding numbers by each kind, when sown, that he may be at no loss to know them :—Putting the papers as is usual, in a split stick by them, is apt to be lost; or so defaced by the weather as to become, after a while, unintelligable; and then the name will be forgotten :—by the method I have proposed this cannot happen ;—on the papers too may be noted the places where they are sown.—

I remain
Your friend &c^{t}
G^{o} Washington.

XII.

Philadelphia 24th Feb^{y} 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 17th instant came safe.—Meeting your children at Baltimore is certainly necessary, and therefore I can have no objection to it.—

My last letter being full, respecting the repairs of my house in Alexandria, I shall add nothing on that subject in this ;—and as Mr. Stuart has not, according to his declaration, received any money from Mr. Whiting, let him be paid with the deduction only of that which he has rec^{d} from Mr. Lewis, or yourself.

In my last, I omitted, through mistake, the Seed which is now sent :—let it be given to the Gardener as part of that parcel ;—some early Colliflower seed was sent to him by Mrs. Washington (by a Gentleman of Alexandria of the name of Turner)—w^{ch} I hope you will have got.—

I hope the Posts and rails you are now getting, will not be

so unsubstantial as to be blown down by every puff of wind as the last are;—and I am sorry that the springeness of the ground, where you are digging the new race does not admit that work to go on to advantage, as it is essential it should be compleated before the water begins to fail; but notwithstanding this, I would not have it proceed to a disadvantage, whilst the hands can be more benificially occupied in other things;—more force must be employed when the ground is in order, and this will be between the *present* wet, and the drought which generally succeeds; and by which the soil binds, and becomes very hard.—The Miller had the mode of sloping the race particularly explained to him both by the Gentleman who laid it off, and myself; his directions therefore in this case, is to be observed and followed.—

By the next Post, I will send you the copy of an advertisement of the terms on which the Jacks and Stud horse are to cover.—In the mean while, it may be said, the former will cover at Four pounds each;—and the horse at 40/—Pasturage, Groom, &c^{t} as usual.—

After culling my Sheep at Shearing time last year; and going over them a second time in the Summer; the loss at Union farm (near, or quite twenty since Autumn) seems to be very extraordinary; and I fear it is too strong an evidence of Crow's inattention to my Stock; as had been intimated to me before I left Mount Vernon in October.

I am very glad to hear that the Gardener has saved so much of the St. Foin seed, and that of the India Hemp.—Make the most you can of both, by sowing them again in drills.—Where to sow the first I am a little at a loss (as Hares are very destructive to it) but think, as the Lucern which was sown broad in the Inclosure by the Spring, has come to nothing;—as the ground is good;—and probably as free from Hares as any other place, it might as well be put there; as I am very desirous of getting into a full stock of seed as soon as possible.—Let the ground be well prepared, and the

Seed (St. Foin) be sown in April.—The Hemp may be sown any where.—

Enclosed you will find three Bank notes for one hundred dollars each; out of which pay the Rev^{d} Mr. Muir of Alexandria Fifty pounds, and take his signature to the enclosed receipt;[1]—and Mr. Hartshorne of the same place £33–6–8– being the dividend of my five shares in the Potomack Company.—Give me credit for these three hundred dollars, and cha: my account with the above payments.

Never suffer a Mare to be taken from the Jacks, or Horse, when they are once admitted to Pasture, until the whole that is due for them be paid; for it has been found that after the Mares are gone, I have more trouble in collecting the money than it is worth.

I am Your friend
and well wisher
G^{o} Washington.

XIII.

Philadelphia March 2^{d} 1794.

Mr. Pearce.

Your letter of the 25th ult^{o}, and Reports of the preceeding week, came to hand this day.—

Enclosed, agreeably to the promise contained in my last, I send you the copy of an Advertisement which the Printers of Baltimore and George Town have been directed to publish four times; in each of their Gazettes; alternate weeks;—

[1] This was an annual subscription to the Orphan School under the care of Mr. Muir, to which Washington also bequeathed $4,000 in perpetuity. The Rev. James Muir (1757–1820) was a native of Cumnock, Scotland, who, after eight years' ministry in Bermuda, had been chosen pastor of the Presbyterian church in Alexandria (1789). He received the degree of D.D. from Yale. He wrote a work in reply to Paine's "Age of Reason." He preached before the Freemasons the second of the two sermons on the death of Washington,—the first being given in the Presbyterian Church by the Episcopalian rector (Davis). For a letter of Washington concerning his shares in the Potomac Company see Appendix D.

that is—to insert it one Week and leave it out the next, until it has been four times published.—The same you may cause to be done in Alexandria, and where else shall be thought proper:—among these Port Tobacco may be a good place.—To Leesburgh (to the care of Col° Ball) I will have one sent.—

I recommend particular care of the youngest Jack, that he may be made to grow large.—I do the same of the Mules (which Peter knows) allotted for my own driving.—Do not stint them in their feed to accomplish these purposes.—

Let there be an exact account kept of all the Mares and Jenneys that go to the Jacks; and to which, as well those belonging to myself, as others:—the same with respect to the horse;—but suffer no Mares to be taken away before the money is paid, unless by those who live near you, and from whom you can receive it at any time.—A Mr. Prescot of Loudoun (or Fauquier) owes yet for last year, so does some others; and as no regular acc^{ts} were kept of these things, the money will be lost; for which reason, except as above, let no Mares or Jennies be taken away without payment.—After knowing these to be the terms on which the Jacks and horse cover, those who do not comply with them, mean not to pay at all, unless compelled: and to bring suits will not be agreeable.—

You would do well to shew the horse at Public places.—April Court at Alexandria would be a proper time and place, as it happens on Easter Monday,—when, probably, many people will be there.—

I find by Mr. Lewis's account, that the new Visto is opened much farther than I had the least intention to do. I had no idea of extending it farther than the other was;—at no rate beyond Muddy hole Branch.—Cease opening it any further until I can see it, and let me know how far it is got, and what has been done with the Wood that was cut down in its course?—

Buy as much good Oznabrigs in Alexandria as will enable the Gardener's wife to proceed in making linen clothes for the Negros;—and let me know on what terms you can get a full supply, that I may judge whether it would be best to get the whole quantity there, or send it from hence.—To know the width of the linnen, and if possible to obtain a sample of it, would enable me to decide with more accuracy.—

The price of Midlings and Ship stuff in Alexandria is greatly below the selling price in this market; especially the first, which is 5½ dollars the barrel of 196 lbs—and the latter, from a dollar and half to two dollars p^{r} hundred—but as these articles never are as high there as here, you must enquire the most favorable season to dispose of them, and do it to the best advantage.—Keep me informed from time to time of the prices of Superfine and fine flour, that I may know when to strike, for mine;—and ask the Miller why he does not, as usual, note in his weekly returns the number of barrels he has packed of *all* the different kinds.—

I forgot to observe to you in time, that if *all* the fields intended for Crops this year could not be flushed up in due season, to let those intended for Corn be left to the last and *listed only*, rather than the work of the spring should be retarded, and the Crops put in late; in order to flush up the *whole*.—You must act in this respect now from circumstances, and your own view of things.—Had the ground been broke up in the fall, the amelioration it would have received from the frosts of the winter would have been of infinite service.—Now; except the work is forwarded by it, I do not believe the Corn will receive any benefit from a flush plowing.

I wish you well and am

Your friend,

G^{o} Washington.

P. S.

How does the drilled Wheat look?

XIV.

Philadelphia 9th Mar. 1794.

Mr. Pearce

Your letter of the 3d inst. is this moment received.—The badness of the roads has occasioned irregularity in the Post.

I approve your repairing my house in Alexandria with my own People (preparing everything that can be, at home) and of your doing it in the manner proposed;—that is, to board between the houses in a neat and workman like manner and to do the three sides of the lot with White Oak Posts and Rails, well executed.—Do not let the Posts be too far distant from each other—when this is the case the rails are apt to warp, and the fence is weakened by it.

I am glad to hear that Green has, at length put a finish to the Barn at Dogue run farm.—I always supposed that shutters would be necessary to keep the weather from the floors, in driving Rain or Snow, and for comfort when working there when it is very cold, but these are soon done; and should be made to hang on substantial iron hooks, that when light, or air is wanting, they may be raised up; and hung to the foot of the rafters.—If the windows below want shutters, the same may be done, and hung to the joice.—But shoveling the grain as it falls from the treading floor, into the middle or octagon part of the building, will always preserve it from the weather.—I want much to know how this mode of treading wheat answers.—

If you conceive the Lucern in the Spring lot will come to anything, I am well content that it should remain as it is, with the dressing you propose to give it.—I directed seed to be saved last year from that which grew in the Inclosure opposite to it, but whether it was done or not I am unable to say;—if it was not I will send you two or three pounds to sprinkle over the ground.—Running a harrow over the lot backwards and forwards, and every way in short, will do no

injury to the Lucern as it has a long tap root, but may tare weeds and grass up, and prepare it better for fresh seed.—The St. Foin and India hemp may be sown in the lot which you have mentioned, as more secure perhaps than the other, against Hares;—but how they will be annoyed by fowls you can judge better of than I.—I wish to have the most that can be made of them.—

It is very unlucky that the state of the Navigation has been such as to prevent my sending you the Clover and other Seeds;—a vessel is now up, and talks of sailing this week for Alexandria, by which the things shall be sent. I hope what Clover seed you had (as you have pronounced it good) has already been sown on the grain, as far as it would go, as was directed.

I am Your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

XV.

Philadelphia 16th March 1794.

Mr. Pearce

Your letter of the 11th with its enclosures came to hand at the usual time; but not so as that, enquiry co^{d} be made into the prices of linnen, and you to be informed, by the Post of tomorrow (this day being Sunday)—Go on therefore, until you hear further from me, to get linnen as fast as it can be worked up.—The 11½^{d} linen is as good as any for the boys, girls and small people, who do little or no work.—

I was afraid to make the interstices between the pieces of the treading floor of the new barn at Dogue run to open, lest the straw should work into them, and choke the passage of the grain to the lower floor;—or to emit so much straw between them, to that floor, as to make the difficulty of cleaning the grain much greater.—Avoiding these two evils, the floor

cannot be too open, provided the horses feet, or legs are not endangered; and this is not likely to happen unless the pieces were so far apart as for the hoof to pass through, or turn.—If the section, or part of a section which you have left an inch apart, is not apt to choke or pass too much straw through, try another section at an inch and a half and so on, section after section, until you hit the mark exactly; and then regulate all the sections accordingly.—This had better be done whilst you have Wheat with w^{ch} to make the experiment:—and without loss of time, as not only an immediate advantage is to be derived from the *best* distance the pieces can be placed a sunder, but that I may know better how to order another.—

Let the drilled wheat have all the cultivation you can give it, with convenience, that the most that can, may be made of it.

The Clover Seed, Furze and other articles, are on board the Sally Capt. —— for Alexandria, the first Vessel that has offered since the breaking up of the frost.—It is much to be regretted that the delay has been so great, but it was impossible to avoid it.

I would not, by any means, have you sow the Eastern shore Oats—if these are what you depend upon Col^{o} Gilpin[1] to get;—because these, besides being almost as light as bran, are rarely, if ever, free from the Onion or wild garlick; with which my fields abound too much already, from this very cause.—I had rather the ground intended for this Crop should receive Buck Wheat, or any thing else;—or indeed nothing; rather than be sown with such Oats as are generally brought to Alexandria from the Eastern shore of Virginia.—It is possible you may get some Oats from Notley Young Esq^{r} near George Town.—These will be good.—

I send you a few seeds of the Nankeen Cotton.—let them

[1] This Alexandria merchant was one of the pall-bearers at Washington's funeral.

be planted the first day of May in light and rich ground, well prepared.—Put four seeds in a hill.—

I am Your friend &c°

G° Washington.

P. S.

I have wrote Col° Ball, and my Nephew Mr. Robert Lewis,[1] that they are welcome to send a Mare or two each, to either of the Jacks or the Horse.

Turn over.

March 17th

P. S. The Vessel is not yet gone which has my seeds &c° on board;—and as she has been going every day for ten days past there is no saying when she will go.—The Capt^n *now* says tomorrow.—He has promised to land them, if he can, as he passes Mount Vernon;—if not they are to be landed at Col° Gilpin's Warehouse.—the Capt^n has one Bill of Lading, and another goes by this days Post to Col° Gilpin.—The two small Kegs contain the French furse seeds—Nuts and Garden Seeds; the two last may be given to the Gardener; the other you and Butler will manage as you shall judge best.—

One of the Casks contains five bush^ls of Plaster of Paris; which try on some of the clover, to see the effect—at the rate of about 5 bush^ls to the acre—spread a breadth, and leave a breadth, alternately; to shew more clearly, if any, what effect it will have.

G. W.

---

[1] Robert Lewis (1769–1829) son of Washington's only sister, Betty (Mrs. Fielding Lewis of Fredericksburg, Va.), was the president's first private Secretary, and escorted his family to New York after the inauguration (1789)—of which journey he wrote an amusing diary now owned by his grand-daughter, Mrs. Ella Bassett Washington. He was succeeded in his secretaryship by his brother Howell (1792). He married Judith Browne, and settled at Spring Hill, near Warrenton, Fauquier Co., Va. He was temporarily manager at Mount Vernon, but afterwards Washington's general business agent, collecting rents, etc. His account-book, for inspection of which I am indebted to his grand-daughter already mentioned, is continued to his uncle's death, and shows activity in his affairs. He subsequently settled in Fredericksburg, of which town he was mayor at the time of his death. (Appendix E.)

XVI.

Philadelphia 23d March 1794.

Mr. Pearce

The weekly reports, and your letter of the 18th instant, came regularly to hand.

The insufferable neglects of my Overseers in not plowing as they ought to have done in the Fall, begins now to be manifest; for I perceive by the account given of the plowing, that I am driven to the alternative of putting my Oats into ground not half plowed, and prepared, and thereby little to expect from it;—or, in order to do this, be so late in sowing, as to hazard an entire loss of the Crop, if the spring is not very moist and dripping; for I have seldom succeeded with Oats unless they were sown before the middle of March.—

It did not occur to me in time, to advise running the rollers over your grass grounds, and even the Wheat, after the frost had come fairly out of the earth; nothing would have recovered both more.—The roots (even of that which had been thrown entirely out) would have been pressed in such a manner to the earth as to have shot forth fibres to restore the plant.—Now, I presume it is too late.—

I do not, in the first place believe Spring Barley is to be had in that part of the Country, as little of it is grown there;—and in the next place, it is not likely it would succeed, as I tried it two or three years unsuccessfully.—If it is to be had at all, it is most likely to come from Wayles the Brewer in Alexandria; and you might, as Oats are scarce, make another experiment, if Seed is to be had.—How does the Winter Barley look?

I am sorry to find Colo Ball is so tardy in forwarding the B. Wheat—I shall remind him of it by to-morrow's Post.—What quantity of Wheat is supposed to be in the Straw at the several farms?—Before it is all out at Dogue run, take up one section after another and new lay it, 'till you are able

to ascertain the true distance the pieces ought to be assunder; for the reasons mentioned to you in a former letter;—attending particularly to the circumstance I mentioned, and am apprehensive of,—viz—that of the straw working between and choaking.—

Mr. Smith has, I believe, been furnished with fish from my landing, and if he will give as much as another, ought to have the preference;—but before you positively engage, enquire what the other fisheries are disposed to sell at.—4/. p^{r} thousand for Herrings, and 10/. p^{r} hundred for shad, is very low.—I am, at this moment, paying 6/. a piece for every shad I buy.—I am entirely against any Waggons coming to my landing;—but there is one thing which Mr. Smith, or any other with whom you engage, must perfectly understand, if they agree to take *all* (over what I want for my own use) that is, when the glut of the fish runs, he must be provided to take every one I do not want, or have them thrown on his hands: the truth of the case is, that in the height of the fishery, they are not prepared to cure, or otherwise dispose of them, as fast as they *could* be *caught;* of course the Seins slacken in their work, or the fish lye and spoil, when that is the only time I can make anything by the Sein—for small hauls will hardly pay the ware and tare of the Sein and the hire of the hands—your account of the deficiency of Sein rope would have surprized me if it had not been of piece with the rest of the conduct which has waisted every thing I had, almost:—whatever is necessary must be got, and I shall Depend upon your care and attention, now, to guard me against destruction of my property, while it is entrusted to your management.—

Secure a sufficiency of fish for the use of my own people from the first that comes,—otherwise they may be left in the lurch, as has been the case heretofore, by depending on what is called the glut.

What quantity of Wheat have you yet in the straw, ac-

cording to the conjectures of the Overseers, at whose farms it is?—If you can get Six dollars a barrel for the superfine, and thirty four shil^{gs} for the common flour, in good hands, let it go, at Sixty days credit.—

I have 25 H^{ds} of Tobacco in the Ware houses in Alexandria; —examine what condition they lye in, and see that they are safe. Not having been able to obtain the price I set upon them they have lain there five or six years, at least.—I have held these at a guinea a hundred, and would take it.

Is your family arrived at Mount Vernon?—you have said nothing about them in your last letters.—

The Vessel with the Clover Seed &c^{t} left this City on Tuesday last, and is, I hope, with you before this.—Another goes tomorrow, on board which I send you (directed to the care of Col^{o} Gilpin) nine bolts of Oznabrigs, finding it cheaper to buy here than in Alexandria.—

Enclosed you have a bond of Col^{o} Lyles, who lives on Broad Creek (between you and Alexandria)—receive the amount with interest to the day of payment, and place it to my credit.—If the money is wanting for paying the Overseers, or for other purposes, it may be applied accordingly; otherwise, when more can be added to it, I will direct the application another way.—Remember it is Virginia money you are to receive that is dollars at Six shillings.—The readiest way of getting to Col^{o} Lyles is in your own Boat; —and by so doing you can touch at the fishing landings between, and learn their expectations with respect to the prices of Fish.

I send you 3 lbs of Lucern Seed to sprinkle over the Spring lot, where the former grew.—The ground ought to be well torn with a sharp toothed harrow, in order to prepare it for the Seed, otherwise much of it will miss.—

With Col^{o} Lyles bond I send you a letter to him, which seal before delivery;—you have also a statement of the account, as far as I have any knowledge of it.—Receive nothing

short of the whole sum which is due;[1] unless you have no other means of discharging any demands upon me,—for receiving a bond in driblets, is, in a manner, sinking it;—and the amount of this bond, if it can be spared from other uses, I want to apply in discharge of another bond, which is also carrying interest.—

I am

Your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

XVII.

Philadelphia Mar. 30th 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

The Reports, and your letter of the 25th inst^{t} have been duly rec^{d}.

If you are satisfied from repeated trials, that the pieces of the treading floor at Dogue-run Farm, are well placed at an inch and half a part, it would be well to lay them all at that distance; that you may derive as much benefit as you can from it in the present Crop, and that it may be ready against the next year.

The Oats might also be tread out on the same floor; and the sooner the better, as you will then know precisely the quantity which you will have to depend upon,—and when known, inform me thereof.—I have three and half bush^{ls} of a peculiar kind of Oats which I will send by the first vessel bound to Alexandria:—unfortunately they came to my hands

[1] There is a local tradition that Washington carried his idea of exactness to the extent of refusing to receive payments in any form which required change to be given, and that he was known to send a debtor back over the eight miles to Alexandria that he might bring the exact sum owed. The fluctuations attending the value of Virginia pounds during the transition to decimal currency may have had something to do with this. On the other hand he was equally rigid with himself in all that affected the rights of others, and had been known to ride through rough weather to Alexandria and back, to have his feet measured, rather than have the shoemaker travel to his house.

too late for the Vessels which have lately departed from hence for that Port; but I would have you reserve and keep about two acres of ground in a good state of preparation for sowing the moment the seed shall reach you.—

I am sorry to hear your drilled and other Wheat, makes but an indifferent appearance.—I was in hopes such extreame fine weather as we have had during the whole month of March would have occasioned a pleasing change in both.—As grain puts on different looks at this season, according as the weather, while growing, happens to be, let me know from time to time how mine comes on.—If it stands thick enough on the ground, such uncommon mildness and warmth as we have had since February, must have recovered that Crop greatly, as well as the Winter Barley.

I doubted the Gardeners information at first, when you reported a pottle of S^{t} Foin seed; because the few plants could not bare so much;—and next, because he did not take care *in time* to save what they did bare.—Be the q^{ty} little or much, make the most of them and of the Hemp—and the other seed he took for S^{t} Foin that you are able.

Let Abram get his deserts when taken, by way of example; but do not trust to Crow to give it him;—for I have reason to believe he is swayed more by passion than by judgment in all his corrections.

All the labour that can be spared from more pressing and important work should be employed on the Mill Race; otherwise when the springs get low you will have no water for grinding; it being but a poor stream at best, and many leaks in the old part which will be avoided by the new, whilst those in other parts of the race should be carefully sought after, and effectually stopped.—

If my Sister Lewis of Fredericksburgh[1] should send for it,

---

[1] Betty, his only sister, (1733–1797,) concerning whom see Introduction, and Portrait.

let her have one of the unbroke Mules of midling quality and size.

I am Your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

XVIII.

Philadelphia April 6th 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter and Reports of the 1st instant I have received, and am glad to find by the first that you have got your family safe to Mount Vernon; as, unquestionably, it will be a satisfaction to you to have them along with you.—Change of air may, and I hope will, restore your eldest daughter to health again.

I had no doubt but that the late capture of our Vessels by the British Cruisers, followed by the Embargo which has been laid on the Shipping in our Ports, w^{d} naturally occasion a temporary fall in the article of provisions;—yet, as there are the same mouths to feed as before;—as the demand, consequently, will be as great;—and as the Crops in other parts of the world will not be increased by these means, I have no doubt at all, but that, as soon as the present impediments are removed the prices of flour will rise to what it has been (at least) for which reason hold mine up to the prices mentioned in my last; and if they are offered, make a provisory agreement, to be ratified, or not, by me;—an answer to which can be obtained in a week.[1]—With respect to the Wheat on hand, you must (if you hear nothing to the contrary from me) be

[1] On the 6 Nov. 1793 England issued a "Provision Order," for seizing neutral ships carrying supplies to France (with which country it was at war) or to French colonies. The Order was partially revoked, on the remonstrance of the Secretary of State (Randolph), news of the revocation having reached Philadelphia on 4 April 1794,—two days before the date of this letter. On the date of this letter (April 6) the Secretary urged on the President the policy of sending a special envoy te England to make reclamations for the spoliations alluded to in the text. This policy was decided on, Mr. Jay being sent, his mission resulting in a Commercial Treaty.

governed by circumstances and your own judgment, in getting it out of the straw;—but, at any rate, remove it into the Barns for the purpose of threshing in weather when the people cannot work out.—

When salt, or any other article of which you are in want, gets to a high price, provide for the present occasion *only* unless there is a moral certainty of their rising still higher; in that case prudence would direct otherwise.—

It was not my expectation that either grass or grain could be rolled at the expence of stopping the Ploughs; consequently, if the Oxen were not in a condition for the accomplishment of this work the execution of it was not to be expected:—but is not this an instance among a variety of others, of the impolicy of not breaking a great number of Steers at each of the Farms? which would prevent the few that are broke from being reduced too low for the services thereof.—Twenty Oxen are not more expensive than ten broke, and ten unbroke Steers, because you feed them as Oxen only when they are worked; and unbroke Steers must be fed, as well as Oxen (though not in the same manner) at other times.—By this means there never would be a want of draught Cattle for Cart, Harrow or Roller.—

How does the young grass which was sown in the new meadows, last fall, and the Clover come on?—Was the latter injured much by the Winter?

Besides the number of Stacks which are yet in Wheat, I wanted to know what those stacks are supposed to contain;—and this the Overseers, by comparing the size of them with those which have been tread out, may certainly give a pretty near guess at.—

The three bushels and half of Oats, mentioned to you in my last, are not of such superior quality as I had been led to expect from the account given of them;—yet, notwithstanding, ground may be kept sometime longer for them, or until you hear further from me, on this head.—

The imposition with respect to the Garden seeds, is very unjustifiable;—'tis infinately worse than simple robbery, for there you loose your money *only*, but when it is given for bad seed you lose your money, your labour in preparing for the reception of them,—and a whole season.—

Cloaths must be provided for the Young Gardener at Alexandria.—Those for work to be strong, and substantial.—Sunday, or holliday Cloaths to be decent, and such as may please without going to more expence than is necessary:—but of the latter class I should conceive he can be in no want *now*, unless he has made an improper use of a whole suit (of very good Cloaths) which were given to him the latter end of October last.—

I am sorry to find that my chance for Lambs this year, is so bad.—It does not appear to me by the Reports that I shall have more than a third of what I had last year:—what this can be ascribed to is beyond my comprehension, unless it be for want of Rams, or bad Rams.—Let therefore, at Shearing time, a selection of the best formed, and otherwise promising ram lambs be set apart (in sufficient numbers) to breed from; and when they are fit for it, cut the old ones and turn them aside, to be disposed of.—

At Shearing time also, let there be a thorough culling out, of all the old, and indifferent sheep from the flocks that they may be disposed of, and thereby save me the mortification of hearing every week of their death!—which is the more vexatious as I was taught to believe that every indifferent sheep was drawn for this purpose last Spring, notwithstanding the loss of them which has been sustained the past winter;—and indeed unto the present moment.—

When you go next to Alexandria take the exact dimensions of the rooms in my house at that place, that I may send paper for them.—Give the length and breadth of each—and height from the wash board to the Chair board (as they are commonly called) and thence to the Cornish, if any, with the doors and

windows, and size of them, in each room or passage.—If there is occasion to make good the plastering in any of the rooms, no white wash is to be put thereon; because it is improper for paper.—Thomas Davis must paint the outsides of both houses there; the lower part of a stone colour, and the roofs red.—The Inside of the dwelling house is also to be painted.—The whole in short is to be put in very good, and decent condition.—If the planking between the two houses is plained, this also should be painted.—

I am Your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

XIX.

Philadelphia 20th April 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 15th, with the weekly reports, came to hand as usual, yesterday.—I was sorry to learn by the first that you had been unwell.—

It is almost impossible for me to say, with exactness, what I owe the Estate of Mr. Anthony Whitting, because his accounts do not appear to have been regularly kept, but rather in detached Mem^{ms}.—More than his wages from the first of Jan^{y} until the day of his death (which I think was about the middle of June) at the rate of One hund^{d} pounds Virg^{a} Curr^{y} p^{r} annum, I cannot owe him; because my Nephew[1] when his health obliged him in November 1792 to spend the Winter with his father in law Col^{o} Bassett, paid Mr. Whitting, and all the under Overseers (as he did not expect to be back

[1] Col. George Augustine Washington (1763–1793) to whom was entrusted the management of Mount Vernon when Washington entered on his duties as President in 1789. He was the son of Charles Washington who founded Charlestown, Va. In his will Washington writes of this nephew as one "who from his youth had attached himself to my person, and followed my fortunes through the vicissitudes of the late Revolution—afterwards devoting his time to the superintendence of my private concerns for many years, and always performing them in a manner the most filial and respectful."

again if ever, in less than Six months) their full wages for the year,—ending the last of December.—More therefore than from the close of that year, until the time of his death, in the succeeding one, cannot, as I have observed before, be due to the Estate; and this, rather than do it a *possible* injury, you may pay his Ex^rs^ or Adm^rs^; although (as he always had money of mine in his hands) it is probable he might, as it became due to him, have applied part to his own use.—

With respect to the Bond which you say his Ex^rs^ are enquiring after, I never saw, or heard of such an one; except whilst I was in Virginia last; when I was told by some one, what you have mentioned in your letter.—Mr. Lear (who at that time was my Secretary) being called to the Federal City on business, and hearing that Mr. Whitting was dead, or at the point of death (I am not sure which) and knowing that my affairs at Mount Vernon would, by this event, be thrown into great disorder, went down there (which he had not intended to do when he left Phil^a^) and remained there until I got home; at which time he gave me all the Papers he had found belonging to Mr. Whitting.[1]—The private papers in one bundle—and those which concerned my business in another.—In neither of these was there any bond, nor did I ever hear the circumstance mentioned, until I went to Virginia last Fall.—If such a bond did exist, it certainly can be no difficult matter to learn from whom it was obtained;—and whether it has

[1] Tobias Lear, of Portsmouth, N. H., a graduate of Harvard University, was introduced to Washington by Gen. Lincoln. He became tutor to the Custis children, was treated as a member of the family. His first wife was Miss Long of Portsmouth; his 2d., the widow of George Aug. Washington; his third, Frances Dandridge Henley, a niece of Washington's wife. After serving the President for some years as private Secretary, he resided on an estate leased from Washington (360 acres, east of Hunting Creek) which was confirmed to him for life, rent-free, by the General's will. It was charged that the various foreign missions conferred on Lear by President Jefferson, were in reward for the destruction of such of the papers confided to him by Washington, on his deathbed, as might have compromised Jefferson. It is supposed that he committed suicide.

been discharged, or not;—if discharged, the person paying it will know to whom;—without which the bond will be of no use to any one.—All Whitting's private papers were, to the best of my recollection, turned over to Mr. Ring; who, by a non-cupitive Will, was made his heir.

I am glad to find you are upon the point of sowing Buck Wheat at all the Farms.—It is essential it should be in the ground without delay, if two Crops are to be plowed in, before the Wheat is sown thereon.—Does the Oats which you have sown, and the grass-seeds, come up well? and how are your seasons, and the temper of the ground?—By the last Reports you appear to have had rain twice during the week they were made.—In this neighbourhood the earth is dry, and rain wanting.—Did you allow a plenty of seed to the ground that was resown with grass, as well as the other, for the first time.

As the Embargo is continued until the 25th of next month, I think you had better grind no more Wheat until you hear further from me; and let that which is in the straw, remain there; as the safest mode of keeping it; unless you should discover an appearance of the fly about the stacks;—in that case, it might be proper to get it out, and grind it as speedily as possible.—

I do not know how much ground you have sown with flax; but as there is no foreseeing what our disputes may end in, it is my wish that you would add a good deal more (if not too late) to what you have already sown; that, let what will happen, I may make a shift to cloath my Negros.[1]—This

[1] This was written on the day when Mr. Jay received notice of his appointment as envoy to Great Britain, a post to which he had been nominated April 16. Although the Provision Order of England, and the retaliatory Embargo, were ending, the relations between the two countries were much strained by English menaces on the Canadian frontier. The internal peace of the country was threatened by disturbances in Kentucky caused by continuance of the Spanish occupation beyond the Mississippi. An insurrection there was, indeed, narrowly escaped. The dangers of both foreign and civil war were imminent.

makes it peculiarly necessary also to be extremely attentive to the Wool; for I am satisfied that a tenth part of what is sheared, in bringing it home, and after it is in the usual place, where it is kept, is stolen from me.—To guard against both these modes of pilferring, will require much caution, and a strict watch.—Has——[remainder missing]

XX.

Philadelphia 27th April 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 22d instant with its enclosures came duly to hand.—

Thomas Green's account of the dimensions of the Rooms in my house in Alexandria, is so confused and perplexed, that I can make neither head nor tail of it.—The length, breadth and height of each, with the distance from the washboard to the Chair board, and the number of doors and windows in each room, was all I wanted; instead of these he has attempted to draw a plan which no one can understand, and has given an explanation of it that is still more incomprehensible.—

I am very glad to find that you have caused so much flax seed to be sown as appears from the Memorandum sent to me;—but have you not departed from the plan which was to regulate the grass lots at Dogue-run Farm?—As well as I recollect, these were to succeed each other in Potatoes—and one after another to be sown with Oats and Clover; and this rotine was to be persevered in.—As the case now is, neither the lot East of the New Barn, nor that in number 3, can be touched next year; and neither of them, I fear, will be in condition to yield much clover.—My intention with respect to these lots was, by soiling the Plow horses with the Clover, cut green, to save the great expense of grain.—By having one of them therefore in Potatoes; another in Oats, sown also

with Clover;—and the third in Clover,—there would always have been one (which is sufficient for this purpose) handy to the Stable;—more would be unnecessary, as there will be such a quantity of mowing ground on the Farm, for the support of the Stock,—the Mansion house, and for sale.—.

Particular attention will be paid I hope to penning of the Stock, and shifting the Pens—Nothing has been more neglected—general as neglects have hitherto been on my estate—than the latter, merely to avoid the trouble of removing them.—

How does the White thorn * * * cuttings of the Willow and other sets * * * have been put out this Spring, look * * * pear to have taken, and to be in A thriving condition?—

I mentioned to you in my last that 5000 plants of the White thorn was to be sent to me, by Mr. Lear in the Ship Peggy, from London to George Town.[1] I have advice of the Sailing of the Ship, and hope it is arrived.—No time should be lost in getting the Plants home (to M^{t} Vernon) as every day's delay will put them more and more in jeopardy.—Mr. Lear in his last letter informs me that he had by the same Vessel, sent some fruit trees for his own use, w^{ch} he requests my care of:—let these also be taken to Mount Vernon and put into a nursery for his use; and the Gardeners particular care of them is required.—

I am your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

PS.

With this letter you will receive a paper of Lima beans, which the Gardener will plant the first of May, seperate from any others;—and be particularly careful of them.—

---

[1] Tobias Lear had gone to London to interest capitalists in a scheme for a canal between Georgetown and the upper Potomac. He had been made President of the Potomac Navigation Company and sent abroad that the enterprise might carry some of the prestige of Washington.

XXI.

Philadelphia May 4th 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 29th ult°, and the reports which were enclosed, came duly to hand.

I am sorry to find by the first that the Ship Peggy had not then arrived at George Town, from London.—I fear the White thorn Plants (5,000 in number) which I have on board, together with Mr. Lears fruit Trees, will suffer very much, if they are not entirely destroyed; by the advanced season.[1]—Let the ground (wherever the first are to go) be prepared for their reception, that no time which can be avoided, may be lost in getting them into it;—as to the latter, that is the fruit trees, there cannot be many of them, consequently no previous preparation is necessary, for their deposit.—

I wish you had discharged Green without any ceremony, when you found him drinking, and idling his time away;—as to any reliance, on his promise to amend, there can be no sort of dependance:—for it has been found that he is growing worse and worse: The consequence of which is, that he dare not find fault with those who are entrusted to his care, lest they sh[d] retort, and disclose his rascally conduct; by which means work that the same number of hands would perform in a week, takes mine a month.—Nothing but compasion for his helpless family, has hitherto induced me to keep him a moment in my service (so bad is the example he sets); but if he has no regard for them himself, it is not to be expected that I am to be a continual sufferer on this acc[t], for his misconduct.

I never could get an account of the Corn made on my Es-

[1] The English thorns did not thrive, and only slight traces of them remain.

tate last year, consequently can form no idea of the quantity now on hand, nor of the prospect there is of its carrying me through the year.—At any rate it should be used with great care, but if it is likely to run short, as much parsimony should be observed as can comport with the absolute calls for it, on the farms, as I know not where to get more; and should find it inconvenient to pay for it if I did.

Does the first sown Buck Wheat come up well?—as fast as any field, or lot is planted with Potatoes, let the quantity which has been used therefor, be noted in the Farm Report of the place where they have been used.—To plant the Potatoes whole is best, where there is enough of them; when there is not, cutting becomes necessary, and should then be adopted.—

In the Gardeners report is a query, if Apricots will be wanting to preserve.—I answer No.—for the situation of public business now is, and likely to remain such,[1] that my family will not be able to spend any time at Mount Vernon this Summer—that is—I cannot do it, and Mrs. Washington would not chuse to be there without me.—My present intention is, if public business will permit, to make a flying trip there soon after the rising of Congress; but when that will be is more than I am able to decide, at present.

It is not usual—nor is there any occasion—for Papering the ceiling of the Room, or rooms (if more than one should be papered) in the House, in Alexandria.—

I am—Your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

---

[1] Genet, the obnoxious French Minister, having been recalled from this country, and Gouverneur Morris from France, the administration was endeavoring to find a Minister to France who could quiet the jealousy of that country awakened by the mission of Jay to England. At the same time M. Fauchet, the French Minister at Philadelphia, had to be watched and soothed. A continual exchange of sharp diplomatic letters was going on with both the French and the English Minister, relations with their countries being much strained.

XXII.

Philadelphia May 11th 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

The Weekly reports enclosed in your letter of the 6th instant, have been duly received.—

By the first Vessel bound to Alexandria from hence, I will send Paper for the two lower Rooms in my house in that place; but if it has been newly plastered, as would appear to be the case (in part at least) by Green's acct; it ought not to be put on until it is thoroughly dry; or the Paper will be lost.—

The Sheriffs and Clerks notes are returned, and must be paid.—Two of them however belong properly to Mrs. F. Washington;—and some of the rest not more to me than others;—but I find it is a uniform practice to saddle me with the whole expence of suits wherein I am only a part concerned as Trustee, Attorney, &ct.—

It has often been in my mind, and I have as often forgot it, when I was writing to you, to request that you would look forward to, and so arrange matters as not to suffer the Hay and Grain Harvests to interfere; or either to suffer for want of being cut in time.—For want of a little foresight of this kind, I have, hitherto, had one or the other, and oftentimes both, suffer by not being cut in due season;—especially the Hay, which has often been spoiled by letting it stand until the Grain Harvest is entirely finished: whereas, if the forward grass was cut before, the latter grass might remain without much, if any injury, until the Grain was secured.—I am a great friend to cutting Grain soon, and I request it may be the practice this year.—When it is cut early, it must not be stacked, or even put into large shocks, until the straw is a little cured.—But the grain is better for it, and loss by

shattering, or beating rains the latter part of Harvest, not half as great.—

Be very attentive to the drilled Wheat.—Get it out as soon as possible after harvest;—and secure it in the Seed loft at Mansion house; without making any previous mention of the intention: otherwise there will be pilfering; and a disposition of it, of which you may have no notice.—It cost me 10/. p^{r} Bush[1] besides the stage price of transportation from Fredericksburgh[1] to Mount Vernon.—

I approve of your sowing the first lot in the Mill Swamp (or more properly the second, as there is one between it and the Mill) with Buck Wheat and Timothy; and should be extremely glad if the one above (now in Corn) could be got in order for grass also.—Leave no unreclaimed—nor if possible any uncultivated spots in these lots;—for they are not only eye sores in Meadows, but are of real detriment; as they are continually eating into, and fouling other parts of the ground.—Quite down to the water's edge, and quite up to the fences therefore, ought always to be perfectly cleared.—

I fear, from your complaint of bad pastures, that the weather has not been seasonable with you.—This question I have asked in some of my late letters, but no other answer has been given than what appears by the Meteorological account of it; and that conveys no precise ideas of the state, or condition in which the fields are, for moisture;—as good rains, heavy rains, slight rains, and rains of every other sort, go under this general description in the report.—If the Pastures are bad, I wish I may not hear also, that your Oats and Buck Wheat puts on but an indifferent appearance.—

I hope you have made all the Overseers produce the Wool of the Sheep which have died on the farms under their re-

[1] Fredericksburg (and its neighbor, Falmouth) being at the head of navigation on the Rappahannock, and also near the Falls, had become the most important market for wheat and flour in Virginia.

spective managements; the q^{ty} from the number of Sheep which have been lost, ought to be pretty considerable.—

I wish you well, and am

Your friend,

G^{o} Washington.

P. S.

Does the Corn come up well, and stand well? and how does the Oats Buck Wheat and Clover come on?—

I do not recollect whether that part of the ground in the lower Meadow lot, at the Mill, which lays between the old bed of the run, and the race, has ever been prepared for Grass.—It ought to have been, to compleat the lot.

XXIII.

Philadelphia May 18th 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

I am sorry to find by your letter of the 11th Inst^{t} that the Crops and every thing else were suffering from a drought.—yet, by the weekly report which accompanied the letter, it appears that rain had fallen on the 6th, only five days before, but I suppose this must have been a slight one.—

It is not only unlucky, but unaccountable, that the Oats should not have been received with the other things.—Mr. Dandridge says they were put on board at the same time, and are included in the Bill of lading with the other things.—A strange fatality has accompanied them throughout:—the delay in getting them to this City occasioned their missing a passage in due season; and if you have not recovered them before this, it would be throwing them away to put them in the ground now.—

I send you four small papers of Seeds which have been sent me by a curious gentlemen in Europe.—Whether they are sound and good,—and are of any real utility, I know not; but let the Gardener pay particular attention to them;—en-

deavouring to raise seed therefrom.—He should set boards by them, with inscriptions thereon, similar to those which are written on the papers, containing the respective seeds.—

Whether you will depend upon the first, or second Crop of Clover for Seed, will be left to yourself; but I desire (if it be practicable) that of this—of Buck Wheat—Timothy—and in short of every other Seed w^{ch} you may have occasion for next year, may be saved; as the cost of these things in the Markets of this City falls too heavy upon me besides being bad very often.—I also request you will be particularly careful in saving Seeds from the several kinds of Grass, which, from time to time, have been sown in (what is called) the Vineyard; and other places, for the purpose of experiments; or because they were given to me as curiosities, or for the real value of them.—And I hope you have been, and will be attentive to such as I have sent you myself.—Is that which I forwarded to you sometime ago (directing it to be sown in some part of one of the Meadows) come up well?—It was given to me for a grass of more value than Timothy.—If so, all the seed that can, ought to be raised from it;—the same of S^{t} Foin; which my Gardener neglected last year until the seed was almost lost.—If Cattle or Horses will eat the fancy grass either in its green state, or made into Hay, it certainly must be very valuable, as it grows rank, stands thick on the ground, does not require strong land, and will remain forever on it.—Save what seed you can from this—some grows in the Vineyard Inclosure, and some I believe in the little Garden by the Salt House.—Several other grasses, of valuable sorts, which had been given to me, were sown in this place and the Vineyard;—but like most other things on my Estate, have been lost for want of attention, hitherto, but I hope your care will guard me against such neglects in future.—

I presume you are well enough acquainted with Clover to know How it is to be managed; both for seed and Hay.—Last year, none of the first (or very little) was saved;—and

of the latter, that is Hay, none was made good, and a great deal of it was entirely spoiled.—It ought to be well cured before stacking, but not much stirred; especially in the Sun; or it will lose the leaf.—Let there be a hollow in the middle of each stack (by way of ventulater) occasioned by Drawing a basket, or stuffed bag through the middle, whilst the stack is making.—

As Crow has no Clover, with which he can soil his work horses and Oxen, he can be supplied from Dogue run until his own lots are in a condition to furnish him; w^{ch} ought to be assisted as much as possible to hurry them forward.—

If you have, or can procure Turnip Seed, it might be well to sow a good deal of it at all the Farms; as both Cattle and Sheep would derive benefit from them.

In what state of forwardness is the drilled Wheat, when compared with the common wheat? from the character and description of it, it ought to be ripe for cutting by the 8th or 10th of June.—You will have been told—or will have discovered, that there are two kinds of Wheat in drills, at the Union farm.—One is a double headed sort, whether of much value, or not, I am unable to say; nor do I know whether it ripens sooner or later than the common kind.—Take care of the Seeds of both, and cautiously guard against their mixing in the Seed loft.—As there will not be much of the d^{ble} headed Wheat, it might be well (in order to prevent this) to put it into tight casks, and head it up securely.—The early Wheat I set great value on, as it is an acquisition, in the farming line, of great magnitude in many points of view.

What have you done with the Plaster of Paris I sent from this City sometime ago?—I have not seen (that I recollect) any account of its being spread.—The hides of the dead cattle (though not good) should be Tanned by the old man Jack, who usually attends to this business;—the leather may serve for inner Soals and repairing Shoes—and something

ought also to be done with the skins of the Sheep w^{ch} have died.—

Mulatto Will should be kept close to making Shoes, that they may be in readiness by the time they are wanted.—He is slow, and sickness, or other interruption may throw his business behind.—

I presume the lot in Alexandria will have been inclosed by the Post and Rail fence, intended for it;—and the house, inside and out, painted, before the workmen were withdrawn from thence.—It ought to be left in charge of some person who will attend to it, until Mrs. F. Washington takes possession thereof.—

Whether, if the four missing Hh^{ds} of my Tobacco are not to be found, the Inspectors, after its having lain over a year, or sometime fixed by Law, are liable for it, or not, I am unable to advise you, and therefore would have you consult those who are, that you may pursue such measures as are proper to recover the value of what is gone—and to secure the remainder.—I have been holding it up for a good price, but if whilst I am waiting for this, I am losing it by the Hhd^{s}, I shall have brought it to a bad market indeed.—It was but a short time before the death of Mr. Whiting that he was directed to examine into the condition of this Tob^{o}; and to the best of my knowledge he reported, that it was not only all there, but that he had stowed it securely *all together* in some part of the Warehouse where it would not be disturbed in searching for other Tobacco.—This information I am sure I received from him,—or from my Nephew, before he was advised to leave Mount Vernon on acc^{t} of his health.— I enclose you the Notes for this Tobacco, that you may be able to proceed with more regularity in this business.—

It is not a good Season for Surveying, otherwise I would have my four mile run tract run round;—but this shall be done in the Fall; or even sooner if it is found indispensibly

necessary :—in the meanwhile, if you, with the aid of Mr. Minor,[1] could prevent further depredations it would be proper, and desirable.—

If Congress should rise in the course of this Month, as they talk of doing, it is probable (though this is more than I can with any certainty promise) [I may] be at Mount Vernon, to stay a few days only, by the 10th of June; when, if you will remind me of it, I will give you a copy of the courses of the four Mile run tract, as they cannot be got at unless I am at home.—

If you can sell the Black horse for a good price—I mean full to his value—I wish you to do so.—But what that ought to be, will depend upon the condition he is in, at the time of Sale, and upon the prizes of horses in the part of the Country where he is; and of these you are a better judge than I am.—I neither expect, nor desire more than his value; and as he is not a necessary horse, he had better be disposed of.—

I find by the Reports that Sam is, in a manner, always returned sick;—Doll at the Ferry, and several of the Spinners very frequently so, for a week at a stretch; and Ditcher Charles often laid up with a lameness.—I never wish my people to work when they are really sick, or unfit for it; on the contrary, that all necessary care should be taken of them when they are so;—but if you do not examine into their complaints, they will lay by when no more ails them, than ails those who stick to their business, and are not complaining, from the fatigue and drowsiness which they feel as the effect of night walking, and other practices which unfit them for the duties of the day.—

If the Peggy is not yet arrived it is to be feared that my

[1] George Minor, whose name frequently occurs in the Truro Parish Vestry-book—now in possession of the Rev. Dr. Slaughter, historiographer of the Diocese of Virginia—as one of the overseers of the poor, on whom such duties as Washington suggests devolved after the Revolution. The Minors are an eminent family: to it belongs the Head of the Law School, University of Virginia, John B. Minor. (Appendix F.)

White thorn plants, and Mr. Lear's fruit trees, must all have perished.—Try them however, as soon as they are to be had.

As Congress have determined that the Embargo shall not be renewed, I expect the price of flour will be at least as high as it has been, in Alexandria.—In this city it has already risen to 50/. for Superfine and 47/6. for fine; but as the warm season is coming on, if you can obtain Six dollars for the first, and thirty-four shillings for the other, in good hands; payable in sixty days; I am more inclined to take it than to hazard the keeping it much longer; but do not make a conclusive sale of it until you shall hear from me again, and this you may expect to do by Wednesday's Post, w^{ch} will arrive in Alexandria on friday evening next.—

I am Your friend

G^{o} Washington.

XXIV.

Philadelphia 25th May 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

I learn with concern from your letter of the 18th instant, that your crops were still labouring under a drought, and most of them very much injured.—At disappointments and losses which are the effects of Providential acts, I never repine; because I am sure the alwise disposer of events knows better than we do, what is best for us, or what we deserve.[1]—Two or three fine rains have fallen here in the course of the past week;—some of which I hope (though I fear the showers were partial) may have extended to Mount Vernon.

I am quite astonished as well as concerned, to hear so unfavorable an acc^{t} of the drilled Wheat.—What can be the cause of it?—Not the working of it I hope? for by that

[1] Appendix G.

means it was, I expected to have augmented the crop considerably.—

The great change for the worse in my Sheep, since I left home about five years ago is as much to be regretted, as the constant decrease of their numbers.—At that time the fleeces through my flock, averaged upwards of five pounds,—now I perceive by the last reports they are but little over two pounds.

From the letters I have received by the Peggy, she must have arrived in George Town, I hope you have got my thorn pl^{ts}, and Mr. Lears fruit Trees to Mount Vernon.—Enclosed is a copy of the list of the latter, which desire the Gardener to be particularly attentive to.—

It was always intended that the Negro quarters at Union farm should range with the lane fence, or nearly so;—but then the fence of N^{o} 5 and the great Meadow was to have been moved forward, with a view to narrow the lane, and to throw the Barn in the middle of it.—So wide a lane as the present never was intended to remain—but matters may rest as they are until I come home, or until you shall hear from me again.—The first will not be, I fear, so soon as I expected; as it is very questionable whether Congress will be up next week, and I may have business afterwards to detain me here a few days; which does not occur to me at this moment.—In my next (this day week) I may probably speak with more certainty on this point.

I wish you well and am

Your friend, &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

P. S.

Have you heard of the Oats yet, which I sent from hence? A vessel is now up for Alexandria, by which I shall send Paper for my House in that place.—

G. W.

XXV.

Philadelphia June 1st 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

I am glad to find by your letter of the 27th ult° that you had had some good rains, previous to the date of it.—Those rains, with such as have followed since, may give a very different appearance both to your Oats and flax; and may enliven, and push forward the Corn and B. Wheat;—but I fear much for any grass that may have been cut, there having been no weather to cure it (in this part of the Country at least) these ten days.—

I am sorry to perceive, that amongst all your other unfavorable prospects, that little is to be expected from the White bent grass—the seeds of which I sent you last Spring.—Endeavor, however, to save all the Seed you can from it, in like manner as you were requested to do with the other experimental grasses, in the Vineyard, my little garden, &c^{t}.

If the drilled Wheat is not *much* forwarder than the common Wheat, there must have been an imposition in the Seed; for the ripening of it three weeks before the common sort, is a fact that is well ascertained.—

The deception with respect to the Potatoes (210 instead of 418 bush^{ls}) is of a piece with other practices of a similar kind, by which I have suffered hitherto;—and may serve to evince to you, in strong colours, first how little confidence can be placed in any one round you; and secondly the necessity of an accurate inspection into these things yourself,—for to be plain, Alexandria is such a recepticle for every thing that can be filched from the right owners, by either blacks or whites;—and I have such an opinion of my Negros (two or three only excepted); and not much better of some of the Whites—that I am perfectly sure not a single thing that can be disposed of *at any price*, at that place, that will not, and is not,

stolen, where it is possible; and carried thither to some of the underling shop keepers, who support themselves by this kind of traffick.—

I am really concerned that the Potatoes have fallen so much short of expectation;—and if I could have had any fore knowledge of it, instead of disposing of what there was, in Corn gr^{d}, I should have given them to the lots w^{ch} were intended for clover; as I conceive nothing is a better preparative for this crop, than Potatoes.—As you have them not—and know the object for which these lots are designed—I leave it to you to manage them as shall seem best in your own judgment, to effect end in view.

It is not longer ago than last year (if my memory has not greatly failed me) that I paid, in this City, 40 or 50/ for the Turnip seed I sent to Mount Vernon, and to have no seed there now is, to be sure, extraordinary; but as these things serve to shew you how I have been imposed upon, and to what expences I have been run for want of common care and attention, so I persuade myself, they will induce your exertions to avoid the like in future.—

If you can get the price ment^{d} in your letter for the midlings and Ship stuff take it.

I am—Y^{r} friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

P. S. Mr. Douglass is a person I am not acquainted with. He may be as able to fulfil a contract as any in Alexandria for ought I know to the contrary—but prudent precaution to have the money secured—and at the time it is engaged is not amiss.—

When I wrote you last, I had expectation of being at Mount Vernon by the 10th of this month; but now I have not, nor can I with certainty say when it will be.—Probably —not before the last of the Month.—

Y^{rs}

G. W——

XXVI.

Philadelphia June 8th 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letters of the 4th instt accompanying the reports, came duly to hand; and by the Post of to-morrow I was in hopes I should have been able to inform you of the day I should leave this for Mount Vernon—but the case is otherwise—Congress are yet in Session, and although they talk of rising to-morrow, this may not be the case, and if it were other business will claim my attention for some days after the adjournment.—You will continue therefore to write, and send the weekly reports to me as usual.—

If lambs of *any kind*, have been sold from my flocks of sheep, it has not only been done without my consent, but expressly contrary to my orders.—And sure I am, the money for which they were sold never found its way into my pockets; nor is there credit for it in any accounts I have seen.—So far has it been from my practice, or policy to sell off the forward ewe lambs, that, in order to prevent it, I would not suffer any lambs to be disposed of at all unless it was the very latter runts.—My plan, while it was in my power to attend to these matters myself, was, to be sparing of the lambs even for my own table and never to kill the females; to keep the ewe lambs (especially the latter ones) from the Rams the first year—to seperate the Rams from the ewes at sh[e]aring time (to be returned at a proper season)—and, at sh[e]aring time also, to cull over, and remove to a pasture by themselves, all the sheep above a certain age, and all such as appeared to be upon the decline, that, after receiving the summers run, and such aid as could otherwise be afforded them, they might be disposed of to the Butchers; reserving enough for the use of the family.—If lambs have been disposed of contrary to this plan, it has been done by the knavery of those who have availed themselves of the op-

portunity my absence has afforded them, to do it.—It might be well therefore for you to enquire by whom lambs have been sold;—and as you will see by the written agreements with my Overseers that they are not allowed to sell even a fowl, to charge them in explicit terms, not to depart from it.—The granting them this indulgence, was for their comfort on the farm; but they have no right to raise anything thereon, of any sort, or kind whatsoever, for sale.—If therefore, as the practice of this sort is contrary to agreement, they presume to sell *one thing* they may, and will be suspected of selling *every thing* they can do with impunity.—This reminds me, of what has often been in my intention to write about, and that is Mr. Stuarts selling Butter.—He is, I well remember, allowed a certain part of the butter that is made on the farm, of course is entitled to the butter or the value of it; but to avoid suspicion, he had better, both on his own account and mine, after taking out what he uses in his own family (and which he ought to account for) send *all* that is made, besides, to the Mansion house; and, as it will go from thence to Market, let him be allowed for his proportion the price it sells at.—Besides avoiding suspicion and evil reports, another good will be derived from this practice, and that is, that it will supercede the necessity of his wife's—or any other person's running to Alexandria to dispose of this article, or to enquire into the price of it.—That Mr. Stuarts conduct in this business has not escaped censure you will see by the enclosed; but as I never entertained an unfavorable opinion of him, and always a very bad one of Green, I never mentioned the report to the former although, when the latter gave the information, I told him to commit what he had to say to writing,—charging him at the same time to say nothing that he could not prove, as he might bring himself into a scrape if he did.—I have no doubt of Mrs. Stuarts having furnished Butter for M^{c}Knight's Tavern, and if the quantity bears any proportion to what is asserted in the paper, that it

has been fraudulently done.—The account, I presume, is exagerated, otherwise instead of being content with one fourth (which if my memory serves me, is the part allowed him) he must have taken three fourths of it, at least.—But be the report true or false, it still shews the necessity of the measure I have advised,—In the first case, to guard me against such impositions;—and in the second, to secure his own character against suspicion and calumny.

Mrs. Fanny Washington writes that the Cellar of my House in Alexandria wants paving, and to be drained, as it is very damp.—Let the first be done at any rate, and the latter if it shall appear necessary, as I presume it is.—You had better buy smooth, and well burnt bricks in Town than to carry them up.—This job will afford another week for Davis and his attendants; when one man, in this City, would begin and finish it (the materials being on the spot) in half a day.—

A Mr. Oneil from Chester County in this state, will be at Mount Vernon by the time, or soon after this letter will have reached you.—He has a great opinion of a freestone quarry near my lime kiln, but a little up the Branch called Hell hole; and I have authorised him to open it at his own expence; but have told him that if you have a hand or two that could be spared, and he would allow the same for them by the day, or month, that he gives to others, I had no objection to your doing it.—I am to be at no expence or trouble with him, and he has assured me, that the hands he takes from hence with him, shall be sober, honest, and well behaved.—If Tom Davis and Muclus could be spared from *necessary* work, they had best go; for numbers will add nothing to the dispatch of my work, whilst it is under the immediate inspection and direction of Thoˢ Green; who, it appears indispensably necessary to me, should be superceded the moment you can get a good workman in whom confidence can be placed, to overlook them; for the manner in which my Carpenters idle away their time, is beyond all

forbearance.—Twelve Carpenters in this City, would have built every house which is on my lot in Alexandria (from the foundation) in less time than mine were employed in the few repairs they received; but from the habits of idleness which they have contracted, and the bad examples of Green, nothing better I am sure is to be expected from them while they are under his management.

I am Your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

XXVII.

Philadelphia June 15th 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 8th with its enclosures I received yesterday.—If nothing, unforeseen by me at present, intervenes to prevent it, I shall leave this City for Mount Vernon the day after tomorow; (tuesday) but as the weather is warm, my horses fat and out of exercise, and I may have occasion to stop a day on the road, it is not probable I shall reach home before Sunday or Monday next.—I shall have two white waiters with me—one a hostler, who may sleep over the Store, in the room usually occupied by Mr. Whiting.—the other attends particularly on me, and may have a bed made for him in the Garrot (South end) in the room without a fire place.—

Try the Turnip seed, in order to prove its goodness;—for it is provoking to be at the trouble and expence of preparing ground for seed that never vegitates.—

As I expect to see you so soon, I shall add nothing more at this time than that I am

Your friend and well wisher

G^{o} Washington.

XXVIII.

Philadelphia July 13th 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 9th, with the Reports of the preceeding week came to my hands yesterday.—I arrived in this City myself on Monday; made rather worse by my journey, and a wetting I got on the Road on Saturday; having travelled all day through a constant Rain.—

I am sorry to hear that the wet weather continues to throw your work backward—especially plowing—as I am sensible you have much of it to do, and all of it pressing to be done;—for if the Buck Wheat is not plowed in while it is in a green and succulent state, to have had it on the ground will prove an injury, instead of a benefit; because it is from the juices of this plant that the putrefaction and fermentation proceeds, and causes it to become a manure.—If the plant therefore is suffered to stand until the straw gets dry and hard, it returns nothing to the earth, but on the contrary draws much from it.—It is high time also that the Buck Wheat intended for Seed, was in the ground; as the usual time of sowing it, in these parts for a crop, is from the first to the 15th of this month.—These two things in addition to the necessary working of the Corn for the double purpose of keeping it clean, and preparing the ground for the Wheat, will require all your skill and exertion:—and I am well persuaded you will use both to the best advantage for my interest if all cannot, from wet weather, or other causes be accomplished in due season.—

It would be matter of regret if the Oats should have sustain'd injury from the weather we have had, or may have; as the Crop looked very promising when I left home.—Begin to cut them early, standing in a few bundles, or sheafs together, will ripen them without injury if they are not sufficiently so when cut.—

The Grass too, will, by this time, stand in need of the

Scythes; and I hope all the Hay that can, will be made, and all spots (in the new meadows) not sufficiently covered—will be replenished abundantly with good seed, and scratched in with Harrows, or rakes with Iron teeth.—It is much my wish to have the meadows well set with grass; and the sprouts from stumps, weeds and all other trash exterminated.—These things cannot, I am sensible, be done in a moment, nor perhaps as soon as I wish, or expect them:—but to set about them vigorously, is the only sure means of accomplishing them.—So much meadow ground as I have, and can make, may, I am certain be turned to considerable profit.—Capt[n] Conway of Alexand[a],[1] from a small spot of ground near the Town, sells I am told four hundred pounds worth of Hay annually.—

I wish you not to mistake my meaning about the Lots in the Mill swamp.—Putting them in Corn, was not for the sake of the Crop of this article they would bring; but for the purpose of cleansing and preparing them for grass; if therefore you repeat them in the parts that do not stand in need of such cleansing, you will exhaust the soil and render it unfit for the primary object I have in view for them—viz—Meadow, which I repeat, and am particular in doing so, that you may have a full and comprehensive understanding of my plan.—The low, and wet part of these lots it is, that have not, and I am persuaded could not, last spring, be prepared for Corn, that I would have put into; and continued in this Crop until it is sufficiently reclaimed, and rendered fit for grass;—whilst the older parts of them which do not stand in need of this cleansing may be sowed with grass-seeds as soon as you have it

[1] Either Richard (Mayor of Alexandria in 1800) or Joseph Conway, Lieut. under Washington in the Revolution. They were relatives of President Madison's mother, Nelly Conway, whose paternal home was at Port Conway on the Rappahannock. They were descended from Col. Edwin Conway, of Lancaster, Va. (1683-1764), of the Virginia House of Burgesses. Col. Edwin m. Anne, half-sister of Mary Washington, and his daughter Mary married James Ball, of the same family.

in your power to do it without exhausting it more by tillage. —Some part of the present mowing ground, particularly from the bridge leading to M^c^Koys house, up to the Wheat enclosure, ought, when the Meadows below, and at Union Farm are in good mowing order, and well set with grass, to be broke up and put in something that will destroy the coarse and sour grass which grows thereon—being first sufficiently drained—and all the low part of the field above it, which was in Wheat, produced exceeding fine Timothy before it got foul, which was the cause of my putting it in Corn and then laying it, or intending to lay it to grass again; which, if not taken, as I understood to be the case, I would have well set with it, as soon as you can.—In a word, and to be short on the article of grass-grounds, my wish is, to lay all down to it, for common meadow, that will produce Hay to any advantage (as Hay either for feeding or selling is profitable) but then, my wish also is, to compleat as I go;—by this I mean, that I had rather have one lot or acre laid to grass in perfect order (smooth for the scythe and free from trash of every kind) than two lots or acres incommoded by stumps, sprouts from stumps, Briers, or other things w^ch^ serve to spoil the cutting, and to injure the Hay when made;—and of course the sale.—Those parts of the large meadow inclosure at Union farm which were in the drilled Wheat, have laid to grass as soon as you are able, that there may be no bald, or naked places within it.—

I am sensible that I express my wishes faster than they can be accomplished—but by keeping them steadily in view you will fulfill them as fast as time and seasons will permit; and this is all I can expect or do desire.—But in order that my directions, when given, may not escape you, read my letters over frequently; or take from them at the time they are received such parts by way of Memorandums to refresh your memory occasionally, as are necessary.—

It is my wish and desire that everything requisite for my

house in Alexandria, may be done without delay; that Mrs. Fanny Washington may remove to it as soon as she pleases.— Besides paving the Cellars, and laying a floor in one end of the Stable she proposed to have some place railed up, or done up, in some other manner, higher than usual, to secure her Wood from being pilfered; this you may cause to be done.— The floors want to be smoothed over with a plane and the painting made good, after which I know of nothing to hinder her going into it for it can be papered as well after, as before she goes into it.—

I observed the Hearth below in that House and it might be the same above, was of brick and badly laid.—Get Mr. Oneill to prepare slabs in one or two pieces, according to the size of the stone, from the quarry he is working at Mount Vernon, to replace the brick and let them be bordered as usual by mitreed pieces of Wood for the flooring Plank to butt against instead of running the ends of the plank up to the Brick or Stone as is the case there I perceive.—

If any Butter has been made in the Neck (that is at River farm) or else where to spare, let her have it, or part of it when she removes; and send her up a boat load of Wood also to begin with,—but this is not to be continued—or to be looked for as a matter of course.—

I mentioned to Mr. Oneill and I believe before you—that an account of all the Stone that went from my Quarry was to be regularly kept, that I might know how to settle for it hereafter;—and although I have no reason to suspect that he would render an unfair, or short account of it, common prudence requires that you should see it measured before it goes from the Quarry; and this is easily done as it is always perched for this purpose; desire him therefore, whenever he is about to send any away to give you notice thereof that you may step down, measure, and charge it to him, or the person for whose use it is quarried.—

I either misunderstood Peter, or he told me that several of

the Mules w^ch^ are returned in the Mansion house Report, and which I did not intend should be used without previously communicating the matter to me, has actually been put to the Plough; although no longer ago than last October I supplied every Farm with a compleat set of Plow beasts (Horses or Mules).—If the Mules are to be taken in this manner, I shall never raise them to be of any value.—for to take them at two or three years old and work them until they can hardly walk alone, is ruining of them to all intents and purposes, and I desire a stop may be put to the practice.—Especially as I see no prospect of keeping up my Stock of them, notwithstanding the immense expence I have run myself to in providing Mares for the purpose of breeding them.—From Peter also I was told (but this might be by way of excuse for his own neglect in not attending properly to them in the covering season) that almost all the Mares had slunk their foals;—and he mentioned an instance of this happening to a valuable Mare sent from the Mansion house to Dogue run, and rid by M^c^Koy into the Forest, doing it the night he quitted her back.—My hurry the morning I left home (for it was just before that I received this information upon enquiring what prospect I had for Colts this year) prevented my mentioning the matter to you.—Night rides, and treading Wheat will forever deprive me of Foals.—But a few years ago I bought, and sent from Lancaster and other places in this State &c^t^, 27 large Mares for the sole purpose of breeding mules—never intending that one of them should be put to work—having in the year 1789 before I left home for New York, compleatly stocked all my farms [with] work horses, and left many Mares besides for breeding.—Since that period (not more than five years) it has taken all the surplus of the old stock, just mentioned—the 27 Mares bought for breeding, and for no other purpose, and all the Mules (for at that time there was not one in use) to supply the dificiencies which have been occasioned by the rascally treat-

ment I have experienced from my Overseers; and the want of attention in my Managers, during my absence from home since the period of 1789 above mentioned.—This I know does not apply to you, and it is only mentioned to shew in what manner I have been abused, and how necessary it is that you should guard me against the like in future.—

Unless you are able to accomplish the business without, Sarah had better I conceive (after your grain and Hay harvests are over) be brought to the House again, until you see your way perfectly clear to get all the articles of clothing for the Negroes, ready in due season.—

Mr. Lund Washington's receipt for the five hundred pounds came safe to my hands.[1]

I hear with concern, but not unexpectedly, of the illness of your eldest daughter.—That she could not without a change for the better survive the indisposition with which she has been afflicted, long, was the opinion of all who saw her; and, in a degree, I presume must have been your own.—So far then you must be prepared for the unfortunate event; and 'tho nature, at so awful a trial, must shrink for a time, reason and reflection will produce resignation to a decree, against which there is no controal.

It is but justice to acknowledge to you, that so far as I was able, from the hurt which confined me whilst I was at Mount Vernon,[2] to look into my business, I was well satisfied with your conduct, and I am persuaded I shall have no cause to complain of it in future.—Good judgment and experimental knowledge properly exerted, never can when accompanied with integrity and zeal, go wrong.—These qualifications you have the character of possessing, and I place confidence

---

[1] Appendix H.

[2] "An exertion to save myself and horse from falling among the rocks at the Lower Falls of the Potomac, whither I went on Sunday morning to see the Canal and locks, has wrenched my back in such a manner as to prevent my riding."—Letter to Edmund Randolph, 25 June 1794.

therein.—My favorite objects, as I have often repeated to you, are to recover my land from the gullied and exhausted state into which it has been unfortunately thrown for some years back.—To lay down all the low and swampy lands to grass, and be it little or much, to do it well.—To have Clover lots sufficient for Soiling Work horses and Cattle, and for other purposes.—To substitute as fast as possible hedges and live fences in place of dead ones, and of any thing that will make them.—To be attentive to my stock of all species and descriptions, taking care to improve and increase them to the full extent of your pasturage, beyond which although you might raise food for their winter support, it would be folly to go.—And lastly, to look as much as possible into the little, as well as the greater concerns of y^{e} farms; for more is wasted and lost from an omission in not doing the first than any one is aware of, when they examine the aggregate amount of Trifles.—To improve also every thing into manure that will make it—is among the considerations to be attended to.

I remain Your friend and well wisher

G^{o} Washington.

P. S.

Mrs. Washington desires you will send her by the first Vessel to this place one doz^{n} of the best Hams, and half a doz^{n} Midlings of Bacon.—Weigh the whole and send me the Account of it.—

G. W.

XXIX.

Philadelphia July 20th 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Yesterday brought me your letter, and the Reports of the preceeding week;—the first dated the 16th inst^{t} and the other the 12th.—

Frequent Rains at this season, if they do not fall too

heavily, nor are of too long a continuance, will be the making of the Corn and Buckwheat; but if they are of such a nature as to prevent plowing it will be bad; however, it may so happen, that if you cannot plow in one place, you may, nevertheless, do it in another, and so pressing as this work is, it would be better to shift from one field, or part of a field to another, than to let it be at a stand.

As I do not perceive by the Reports that any part of the Wheat is drawn in, or stacked, let the shocks be frequently examined to see that no injury is sustained by the sprouting of the grain which (however well shocked) it is apt to do, when rains are more frequent than Sunshine.—

How does the quantity, and quality of the Oats appear to turn out, since harvesting of them?—And how does the New Meadows look, and appear to have been taken with grass, since they have been cut.—I wish much to have them well covered with Timothy, or Timothy and clover according to the nature of the ground.—

Remember to give John the Gardener a dollar, the last day of every Month, provided he behaves well—letting him know that it is on that express condition he is to receive it.—And if a suit of Cloaths of tolerable good cloth, made to his own taste, will keep him in good humour, let him be endulged with them.—If by his conduct he merits these things, I shall not begrudge them to him.—

I am glad to hear your daughter is better—'Tis possible her disorder may have come to a crisis, and taken a favorable turn;—but it will be best, notwithstanding, to make up your mind for the worst, unless the appearances are unequivocal, lest they should prove delusive, which is not uncommon in a case like hers.—

What is the matter with Betty Davis, and Doll at Union Farm, that they are—more than half their time—placed on the sick list?—

I hope particular care has been taken of the Grass Seeds in

the little garden by the Salt house—and of those also in the Vineyard—that a fair experiment may be made of the value of them.—I am of opinion that the everlast[g] Pea w[d] make a good Hay also.—I remain

Your friend

G° Washington.

P. S.—July 21[st].

The writer of the enclosed note has just been with me, and is to call this Afternoon with his Vouchers, when I shall have further conversation with him.—He is a tolerably good looking man and has the appearance of an active one—but how far any man, unacquainted with Negros, is capable of managing of them, is questionable.—But let me know whether you have made any agreement yet with Crow, M°Koy, or Butler or any others, as Overseers—and if not suspend doing it till you hear further from me, which probably may be by next Wednesday's Post.

XXX.

Philadelphia July 27[th] 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 23[d] and the reports, have been duly received.—

The ideas which I expressed in one of my late letters, respecting the cultivation (in Corn) of the lots in the Mill swamp, were not intended to forbid the practice in all parts where it was necessary, to cleanse and prepare them for grass;—but to let you see that Corn was not so much an object with me, as Meadow;—and that I did not want the old parts of those lots so much exhausted by cultivation, in Corn, as to be made unfit for the produce of grass—or at least of becoming good pasture.—Knowing this to be my plan, and my desire, I have no objection to your cultivating any part, and every part of the lot which is in Corn this year, again

in that article, that may require it, and fit it better for the purpose it is ultimately intended.—But I must again express my desire that the work be compleated as you go; if the seasons (which I know are all in all in this business) will permit it;—for to have part of the inclosure in grass and part in rushes, alders and other Shrubs, is not only an eye sore, but is a real disadvantage; as they are continually encroaching on the mowing ground.—This is the case in the lot nearest the Mill Road—and in the one next above, which you talk of laying to grass this fall.—These places (adjoining the Mill race) more especially, it is, I want to have tended in Corn, until they are perfectly reclaimed; that the whole of the lots may be in good grass, and have a uniform appearance; even the very bed of the run I could wish to have cleared up, so as to leave no growth there, to extend its influence.—After giving you this explanation of my wishes, I leave it altogether to your own judgment what parts to tend next year, and what not, in Corn.—

Does your Corn continue to grow, shoot well, and look promising?—The season is now come when rain, or drought, is to make or mar the Crop;—a drought even now, when the Corn is beginning to fill, will produce a very scanty crop.—

Let particular care be taken of the seed of the rare ripe corn I sent home; it will be fine for the wet grounds which cannot be planted early, next Spring.—

I would not have you forego engaging any Overseer you may stand in need of, on acc^{t} of the farmer I mentioned to you in my last.—I should be affraid to commit one of the farms to his management without some previous trial;—and as there will be no opening for him before Christmas, it could not suit him to wait;—and besides, upon the enquiry I have made into his late pursuits, I find he has been a good deal of a Rover.—Was Butler away, he might suit the home house very well, as he appears to be (though middle aged) an

active man; and says, if he was put on a place he would not stir from it from years end to years end.—He appears, from his vouchers, to have been a sort of household Steward, as well as farmer, and might therefore be useful at the mantion house if Butler was not engaged at that place.—

Was grass seed sown with the Flax at Union farm?—or do you propose to sow the whole of that inclosure at one and the same time?—

How does Mr. McNeil (Oneil I believe I should have said) like the appearance of the Quarry at Mount Vernon as he uncovers it?—and has he begun yet to raise stone?—

If you will pay particular attention to the conduct of the Overseers, or plowmen, with respect to the treatment of the young Mules, I have no objection, when there is a real necessity for it, to their being used, *gently*, at three years old, because they ought to be handled at that time, to prevent their becoming obstinate, and restive;—but to use them as mine hitherto have been, is to all intents and purposes their inevitable destruction.—A Mule does not come to his strength until he is eight or nine years old, nor said to be in his prime until he is 12 or 15;—to put them in the plough therefore when they are rising three, and work them as my Overseers have done mine, as they would have done a dray horse in his prime—is, in one word, an infallible mean to prevent me from raising any to be valuable;—whereas with proper usage, and due care, they would serve well for thirty odd years.—

Is there anything particular in the cases of Ruth, Hannah, and Pegg, that they have been returned sick for several weeks together?—Ruth I know is extremely deceitful;—she has been aiming for some time past to get into the house, exempt from work; but if they are not made to do what their age and strength will enable them, it will be a very bad example to others—none of whom would work if by pretexts they can avoid it.—

Having said nothing of your daughters health, in your last letter, I hope she is better.—I wish you both well, and am

Your friend

G° Washington.

XXXI.

German Town Aug^{t} 3^{d} 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

I removed to this place on Wednesday last, in order to avoid the heat of the City of Philadelphia.—It is probable I shall remain here until about the middle of September—but letters will come to me as regularly as if I had remained in the City.—

Your letter of the 27th ult°, and the reports, I received yesterday as usual; and wish the rains we have been complaining of, may not be much wanted before the end of this month; as the weather since that fall, has put on the appearance of drought—which, if it happens, will be almost as injurious to the Crop of Corn as if those rains had not fallen.—

If your Corn ground has got foul by the rains which have fallen, or even if they are not perfectly clean, I had rather, although it will inevitably delay your seeding, put off sowing Wheat—or any thing else indeed—until it is clean, light and in good order for the reception of them:—for I have never found anything but disappointed hopes from a contrary practice;—which has long decided me in an opinion that to aim at the cultivation of more ground than one can, under almost any circumstances, master completely, is not the certain way to make sure, or even large Crops; but an infallible one to destroy the land.—I have long been convinced moreover, that if the same labour, and expence of manure, &c^{t} (which in the common mode of management in Virginia) was bestowed on 50 acres of land, that is now scattered over an 100, that the former would be more profitable and productive to

the owner.—What I would be understood to mean by this, is, that a field not more than half prepared for a crop—the Crop not more than half tilled—and the ground but indifferently manured, will not produce as much as the half of it would, if these were bestowed in full proportion to the requirements of the land.—If ones means is equal to the accomplishment of the whole there can be no doubt—in that case—but that the whole will double the half.—All I mean to express is that whatever is attempted, should be well executed as it respects Crops—and as it respects meadows and other improvements, to complete, and make good as one goes.—It was not my intention to apply what I have here said, to the state in which you have described your Corn ground to be under from so much rain, or to any particular case; but as general observations which I am persuaded will hold good in all cases.—An essential object with every farmer ought to be the destruction of weeds.—His arable and pasture grds should produce nothing but grain, pulse if he raises them, vegitables of different sorts, according to his designs, and grasses.—Nothing then but deep and frequent plowing, hoeing, and hand weeding, can eradicate weeds; and such other trash as foul, and exhaust the fields, and diminish the Crops: and these, neither in season, in quantity, or quality can be given, if more is undertaken than the force and means are competent to.—I am glad to hear that the young Timothy is beginning to shew itself in the New Meadows.—It is an ardent wish of mine to have the whole well covered with grass—free from sprouts and weeds, and smooth for the scythe.—How does the Clover which was sown with the Oats at Mansion house come on?—Does the Potatoes at that place look well?—and what is the general appearance of them at the Farms?—

Crow has been applying to Colonel Ball (near Leesburgh in Loudoun County) for a place—if therefore, he or M^{c}Koy remains, it will only be because (after enquiry) they find they cannot do better.—I would have you therefore, make your

agreements with whomsoever you may think will answer your purposes on the Eastern shore, or elsewhere, conclusive; otherwise you may meet with some disappointment; and at a late hour perhaps, be obliged to put up with any you can get.—For your own ease and satisfaction, I am persuaded you will endeavor to provide men of good character; and such as have the reputation of being industrious, sober, and knowing in the management of Negros, and other concerns of a farm. —These things being ascertained to your own satisfaction, is all I require; as you know what has been, or ought to be given for such Overlookers as I stand in need of.—

It seems to me, to be indispensibly necessary that some person should be engaged in place of Thomas Green, to look after my Carpenters; for in the manner they conduct under his superintendancy, it would be for my interest to set them free, rather than give them victuals and cloaths.—James, by the Reports, has been 9 days I perceive, in plaining the floors of the house in town—Muclus (besides what was done to it before) six days paving, and sanding the Cellar which a man in Philadelphia w^{d} have done in less than as many hours.— Davis eight or nine days papering, and so on:—whilst Green himself, and the others, appear determined (as it would seem to me) to make the new house at Union farm a standing job for the Summer;—as the chimney, and underpinning will, more than probably be, for Davis the same time.—When this last work is done, that is, underpinning the house, it must be remembered that air holes is left in it, to prevent the Sleepers from rotting.—

It may not be amiss to say beforehand, that no trifling character (unless he means to tread in the footsteps of Green) will do for an Overlooker of these workmen.—Besides the usual requisites of skill, honesty, sobriety and industry, he must be a man of temper; firmness, and resolution.—for it is not to be expected that men who have been in the habits of such extreme idleness so long, probably of a great deal of

villainy, can be recovered from it without prudent management, and much resolution, properly tempered.—I do not mean that a person in the place of Green should be employed before his year expires, unless his conduct, in the meantime should, in your judgment, indispensibly require it.—

I would not have you engage any person in the room of Butler yet, though it would be but fair and candid to let him know, that by his age, inactivity, and unacquaintedness with the management of Negros, it would not suit me to continue him longer than for the term he stands engaged, at present.—If it suits him equally to go away before the expiration of that term, I would, in that case, write to the farmer I have mentioned to you in my two last letters, to see if he is still disengaged, and would go there—But unless Butler's inclination leads him to go, I shall neither require it, nor write to the other.—

As soon as you are able to fix up on the precise time at which you shall leave Mount Vernon for the Eastern shore, mention it in a letter, and when it is probable you will be back, that I may regulate my letters accordingly.—

The Bacon and other things which you sent up to Alexandria are arrived in good order, in the City of Philadelphia.—

I have nothing more to add than that, as this is the critical month for Corn, which is also a plant that is subject to great and sudden changes, my desire is that you will mention the appearance of it in every letter you write.—I want also to know how the Buck Wheat, sown for Seed, has come up, and looks?—and whether, of that you turned in as a manure, there was seed enough ripe to stock the ground again with this plant.—I am

Your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

XXXII.

German Town Aug^{t} 10th 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

I have duly received your letter of the 3^{d}, with the reports of the preceding week.—

If you think the Oat ground at River farm, will not be too much drawn by a succeeding Crop of Wheat, for Clover; I have no objection to your sowing it with Wheat.—but I have serious doubts on this head; and doubts equally serious of another kind,—viz—that on such stiff and baking land as mine is, sowing Clover on Wheat, in the Spring, (or which is still better, on light Snows in the Month of January or February) will rarely answer.—A proof of this you have had both at Dogue Run and Union Farm the present year; and to the best of my recollection I have not been much more successful in former years.—But I leave it to you to act in this case according to your own judgment.—(As I have understood from you, that your own land is equally stiff with mine, you will know better how to manage the latter than if it had been different.)

It is my wish to lay the ground you speak of to Clover as soon as possibly it can be put into condition to bear it, to any advantage;—for until this happens, the seed is, in a manner, thrown away; and an expence, without profit, is incurred.—

When the Money becomes due, for the flour sold in Alexandria, receive the same;—take from it what your necessities may require;—and deposit the rest in the Bank at that place; where it will be ready for my call, or any order I may give concerning it; inform me thereof.—I do not perceive by the Spinning report, that any of the Girls are employed in making woolen cloaths for the people;—nor do I know what cloth you have on hand (from the Weavers) for this purpose.—All ought to be ready by the first of November, to deliver to them.—

I do not, at this distance, pretend to determine when your people, *generally*, will have most leizure for the purpose, but this I can determine, that whenever it does happen, all hands that can be spared, ought to be employed on the New Race to the Mill;—for the time spent in repairing the old Race after every Rain, would go a good way towards the completion of the new one;—besides the great saving of water.—

If you think the Fall a better time to sow the Seeds which have been saved from the little garden, and the Vineyard, than the Spring, I could wish to have it done, as I am extremely anxious to encrease the quantity of each as fast as I am able;—particularly the Sainfoin; but if, on the other hand, the Spring is thought the *safest* season, the sowing may be delayed until that period:—wh^{ch}, on one acc^{t}, would be convenient, as I wish to sow them in squares in the lot now in Potatoes at the Mansion house.—

Desire the Gardener to save as much seed as he can from the everlasting Pea, in the Vineyard.—I cannot but be of opinion that this Pea, cut young, will make an excellent Hay.—The quantity of it will be great—and its continuance in the ground, long.—Nor do I believe it requires very strong land to produce it.

I am—Your friend &^{ct}

G^{o} Washington.

P. S.

Sow the early, that is the drilled Wheat, in good ground and in good time, that the most that can, may be made of it.—

If there is nothing in the ground (in the little garden) adjoining to the few plants of Sainfoin, you might put one half the seed of that plant which the Gardener saved therein—let the rows be about 12 inches apart—and the seed very thin in the Rows—the other half may be kept for Spring sowing to take both seasons.

XXXIII.

German Town Aug^{t} 17th 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 10th has been duly received, and I am glad to find by it that your Corn still retains a favorable appearance, and that the ground on which it grows is in tolerable good order for the reception of Wheat.—I wish it had been in perfect order, as I have no idea of the propriety of seeding where it is not.—You have not yet answered a question in one of my late letters—viz—whether the Buck Wheat which had been plowed in for Manure, had so seeded the ground as to bring forward a second crop of that article, for the same purpose—that is, for manure.—

I cannot with certainty recollect, whether I saw the India hemp growing when I was last at Mount Vernon;—but think it was in the Vineyard;—somewhere I hope it was sown, and therefore desire that the seed may be saved in due season and with as little loss as possible:—that, if it be valuable, I may make the most of it.—

What appearance does the Potatoes, which the Gardener attempted to raise from the Sprouts, put on at this time; and what are they likely to come to, compared with such as might have been produced in the same ground, planted at the same time, in the usual way.—

When I was at home, an application was made to me by Kate at Muddy hole (through her husband, Will) to serve the Negro Women (as a Grany) on my estate; intimating that she was full as well qualified for this purpose as those into whose hands it was entrusted; and to whom I was paying twelve or £15 a year; and why she should not be so, I know not; but wish you to cause some enquiry to be made into this matter, and commit this business to her, if thereupon you shall be satisfied of her qualifications.—This service, formerly, was always performed by a Negro woman

belonging to the estate,—but latterly, until now, none seemed disposed to undertake it.

I perceive by the George Town Gazette, that the Potomac Company, by their Treasurer William Hartshorn of Alexandria, has called upon the holders of Shares in that Navigation for twelve pounds ster^{g} each, to be paid on, or before the first day of next month (September).—I hold five shares in this Company, which will make the call upon me £60 Ster^{g} which is to be discharged at an exchange of 33⅓ p^{r} C^{t}; w^{ch} amounts to about £80 Virg^{a} Curr^{y} or 266⅔ doll^{rs}.—Let this sum be paid by the day, or I shall have interest to pay for every day it runs over.—You will pay it out of the money due for the Flour which was sold in Alexandria, and w^{ch} I desired should be placed in the Bank.

Not having Col^{o} Lyles Bond by me, I cannot make a clear statement of the matter in my Books, without knowing the precise condition of it.—I therefore desire you will send me an exact copy of the condition of the said bond, with the date thereof, in your first letter.—

I do not conceive that you will sustain any loss in parting with Crow—for a mans abilities, or knowledge of business is of little avail if they are not exerted; or if he suffers indolence, or amusements to overcome them—and a bad temper to keep all around him in a state of disquietude which was too much the case with him, as well as loss of Stock and injury to other things, by his inattentions and neglect.—Do what you think best with M^{c}Koy, but recollect always, that the season for providing *good* overseers is passing away, and none will be to be had late, except such as, with difficulty, can get places at all;—yet, I had rather you should take the chance of the Eastern shore before you engage any on the other shore or round ab^{t} you; as they are more accustomed to farming.—But it may not be amiss to let it be generally known, before you go to the Eastern shore, that you are in want of Overseers; that if you fail to obtain any, while

there, your chance may be the better after you return.—I have not the smallest doubt but that a considerable portion of the materials which falls into the hands of Green, and those under him, are applied to purposes of their own.—A letter is enclosed for Butler, who must take his own way.—as to going or staying.

I hope your sick daughter has got well again.—I am Your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

What rare ripe corn will you be able to save from what I sent home last Spring? in part of an Ear.—

XXXIV.

German Town 24th Aug^{t} 94.

Mr. Pearce,

In reply to your letter of the 16th which, with the reports, came duly to hand, I have only to observe that it never was my intention to withdraw the hands from other essential work to employ them on the New Mill-Race; on the contrary I only wish that this job may be prosecuted at times—and at all times, when their other avocations will permit it, without detriment.—No work is more essential, nor is their any that can be more pleasing to me, than that of getting the meadows in nice order;—of course, employing the Ditchers to effect this cannot but be satisfactory.

I wish the Overseer you have lately engaged may turn out well.—The Masons[1] may judge tolerably of his industry, but they are very incompetent (in my opinion) to decide on his

[1] Of the adjoining estate, "Hollin Hall," residence of Thomson Mason, an eminent lawyer (3d son of George Mason of Gunston). Thomson Mason's estate is mentioned in Washington's Will. Stafford County was the earlier home of the Masons, and was for many years represented by an earlier Thomson Mason. Washington's neighbor was father of the eminent Senator, Stevens Thomson Mason, and grandfather of the Hon. Armstead T. Mason. (Appendix I.)

skill in any of the branches of farming—particularly those of Meadowing, grazing, and the care of stock;—being planters themselves and little used to either.—However, if he is sober, honest, industrious and docile, he may do under your immediate instructions, if you can keep him always with his people (and this I hope you will do) and make him be attentive to your orders and whatsoever is trusted to his care, especially work horses and Cattle.

Alexandria will be no good school for Pine; and if you can find by enquiry after his having been there, that he falls into bad habits, or bad company, do not be concerned with him, let his promises be what they may; for these will follow him to Mount Vernon, where I would have neither introduced.—I am under no sort of obligation to him, and therefore he can have no cause to complain if he is not employed by me.

Enclosed is a letter from Mr. Butler.—On what ground he can expect further compensation than the agreement stipulates, I am at a loss to conceive.—He will recollect that he represented himself to me as a person who had, and was qualified to superintend, a large concern.—Under this idea it is highly probable I might, and I dare say did, tell him that if he was found competent to it, on trial, that he would be entrusted with the management of one of the Farms, where the wages were higher than could be afforded at the Mansion house—but has this been the case?—On the contrary, has it not been found, from experience, that from his age, inactivity, and want of authority, he is incompetent to the present concern, with which he was entrusted; and for these reasons I part with him? and They are, surely, a sufficient bar to his application;—unless, as possibly is the case, he means not to be charged with the money which was given to him to bear his expences from Philadelphia to Mount Vernon.—This I did not intend to do; and further, if he goes away before the expiration of the year, he may, notwithstanding, re-

ceive the whole wages of one;—what agreement you made with him for the last year, I know not—I always supposed he was on the same lay as the year before; and this must certainly be understood if no new agreement was made.—

Is Groves a married or single man?—If the former, what family has he?

How did your Turnips come up? and what is the present appearance of them for a Crop?—What is the matter with your youngest daughter? and how is your eldest now?

I remain Your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

XXXV.

German Town 31st of Aug^{t} 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

In your last letter of the 24th inst^{t}, came a copy of the conditions of Col^{o} Lyles Bond; but you did not give the date of it; for which reason the purpose it was wanted for, cannot be accomplished until the date is transmitted.—

In one of the early letters I wrote to you, I pointed out a method, which if you would observe, it would be impossible to omit any thing to which an answer was required:—that is, when you are going to write, take up the letter, and in reading it, make a short note of every part as you come to it, on the back of a letter, a piece of waste paper; or Slate, to which a reply is necessary.—Having gone through the letter in this manner, you begin your own; and note after note, as the contents are inserted in your letter, is scratched out.—By this means no part of a long letter can ever escape notice; by not carrying the whole in your memory, when you sit down to write, or by being called off while you are writing it.—

You have not, in any of your letters, said any thing of what you had done, or was about to do, respecting the drilled Wheat and Barley.—I would have you make the most you

can of the first,—and give the other another fair trial; for if it yields on my Estate in the proportion that Wheat does to Barley in this Country, the culture of the latter must be more profitable than that of the former.—Whenever the sowing of any field is compleated, let it be noted in the Weekly report; with the quantity of Seed which has been given to it.—

The usual practice on those who have been siezed with the ague and fever, has been, after the third fit, or as soon as it intermits regularly, to give an emetic, which often carries it away without the Bark, or other application.—

The land Mr. Gunnel speaks of, lyes in Loudoun County, although it is within 18 or 20 miles of Alexandria—But if the facts which he relates with respect to the Trespass thereon can be clearly proved, request Col° Simms of Alexandria, or any other who practices in Loudoun Court, and is well recommended to you, to bring suit against them:—for it is really shameful to be treated in the manner I am by people who take such liberties with my timber and wood during my absence—under a supposition they may do it with impunity.—

You may inform Mr. Pierce Bailey that my selling, or not selling that tract, depends upon getting the terms of my asking, complied with.—These are Fifteen hundred pounds (Virg[a] currency)—Five hundred of which to be paid down, and interest on the other two thirds until discharged—the credit to be agreed on which may be 3, four, or more years; provided the land and a Bond is given as security for payment of the principal; and some unquestionable surety for the regular discharge of the interest on the day it becomes due.—Mr. Gill of Alexandria came up to my price, but we differed with respect to the Interest.—There is about 300 acres of it, with two good Mill Seats on it—one wholly mine, the other on difficult run which divides my land from others. —There is also a good deal of Meadow land on the tract.—

I have no objection to your putting up the Still which is at

Mount Vernon, if any advantage from it can be derived under the tax, which is laid upon it;—which Doct^r Stuart[1] and others, who have Stills, can give you better information than I am able to do.—

What is the matter with young Boatswain? who, to the best of my recollection has been on the sick list many Weeks. —I wish you well and am

Your friend &c^t

G^o Washington.

XXXVI.

German Town Sept^r 7^th 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 31^st ult^o with the Reports, I have received.—

A few days ago I received a letter from Mr. Pyne dated in the City of Washington still expressing a desire to be employed at Mount Vernon, and a wish to be there some short time before Butler left it, that he might get a little insight into the nature of the business, previous to his entering upon duty.—I referred him for his being employed at all, and for the terms and time, to you; not chusing to enter into any agreement with him myself lest it might militate with any views of yours;—desiring him to shew you the letter I wrote to him on this subject, that you might be acquainted with my ideas thereon.—

Enclosed is a certificate for Mr. Butler.—The latter part I suppose he w^d have dispensed with;—but in my opinion it is necessary that the whole truth on such occasions should be told; for I have no idea that with a view to serve one person it is justifiable to deceive another;—and without that part, it

[1] Dr. David Stuart, of Ossian Hall, Fairfax Co., who married (1783) the widow of Mrs. Washington's son, John Parke Custis. Dr. Stuart was the son of George the Third's Minister of that name. He was a much trusted adviser of Washington who remembered him in his will: "To Doctor David Stuart I give my large shaving and dressing table, and my telescope."

might with propriety be asked why I parted with him.—If his activity, spirit, and ability in the management of Negros were equal to his honesty, sobriety and industry there would not be the least occasion for a change.—

It is not possible for me, at this distance, to say when the Carpenters and Negros on the respective farms will be most at leisure for removing the Negro quarters at Union, and River Farms; but if this work is not set about before the weather gets cool, it may be dangerous (as the daubing and filling in will be green, and not sun enough to dry them before winter) to put the Negros in them;—and besides, after the ground gets soft and slippery, the trouble, and time necessary to accomplish the removal of the houses will be double. —I have nothing further to add at present than to wish you and family well.—Being

Your friend &c°

G° Washington.

XXXVII.

German Town [Pa] Sep^{t} 14th 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

I am well satisfied that the omission of the date of Col° Lyle's bond was accident, and not design—and for that reason suggested a mode, by the observance of which, no information that is required will ever be omited.—When is that Gentleman, by promise, to discharge this bond?

I think you were quite right in sowing the early (or drilled) Wheat at different seasons, with a view to discover the best season for it.—But have you been told, or do you know, that the drilled Wheat at Union farm was of two kinds—one of them double-headed.—Unless Crow kept them asunder, the next growth from these seeds will be a curious hotch potch.—

I am sorry to hear of the heavy rains you have had, on many accounts; but on none more than throwing you back-

ward in the Mill swamps, and the hard and unfit condition it will put them grounds for the reception of the grass seeds, even if it should not have gullied and washed the soil off, in places.—I know too, that besides stopping your ploughs on acc^{t} of the wetness of the land, that such rains are apt to gully the fields already sown with Wheat; and to render those which have not received the seed, in a much worse condition for this purpose; but as these are the effects of Providential dispensations, resignation is our duty.—I am persuaded you will render the disadvantage as light as possible, and that is all I can expect.—Under these circumstances I hope the season has not urged you to sow faster than the ground was in order; for I know no practice worse than ploughing and sowing when it is too wet.

Drains in all the fields that require it (and none requires it more than No. 6 at Dogue Run) if those heavy rains had not come, ought to be made before the winter wets set in; as, for want of these, and notwithstanding I am continually inculcating this doctrine upon my Overseers, I have much Wheat drowned every year.

I am sorry to hear that you, among others, have the Ague and fever.—It has, from what I hear, been uncommonly rife this year;—occasioned it is presumed, by the wetness of the Summer.—An emetic, after it becomes regular, as I mentioned in one of my former letters, and care, generally removes it.—

The actual spitting of young Boatswain should be carefully investigated, and medical aid administered if it be real;—which, from the temper of the boy's mother, and her desire of keeping him with her as a waiter, may well be questioned. —Under pretence once before, of a hurt by a Cart she kept him three months (if I recollect rightly) in the house with her, until he was forced out; and this may be the case again.

Whilst some deny, other affirm, that the yellow fever is in Baltimore—I shall decide nothing on this head myself, and

only mention the matter, that if that should be your rout to the Eastern Shore, whensoever you may go, that you may be on your guard.

I am Your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

XXXVIII.

Philadelphia Sep. 21st 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 14th inst^{t} and the weekly reports, have been rec^{d}.

We left our Quarters at German Town yesterday, and are again fixed in this City.

Thomas Green's quitting my business of his own accord—whatever the pretence may be—is in my opinion a lucky circumstance, as my repugnance to turning him away was on account of his helpless family.—These you may suffer to remain where they are, until he can provide a place for them;—or until you may have occasion for the house for his successor; provided this is not unreasonably delayed.—Old Bishop must be taken care of whether he goes or stays.

It would be well that you should be off—or on with Pyne, without more delay;—first because the season for providing Overseers is getting late;—2^{dly} because he may have found employment, or received offers in the Federal City (where wages are high) of such a nature as to raise his expectations above what the services you want him for, would enable me to give.—

What have you done with McKoy?—Does he go, or stay another year? and what are the present appearances of the stone quarry at Mount Vernon?—Last year a Nephew of mine living in Westmoreland County, about 70 miles below you;[1] had partly engaged a man (who was master of two or

[1] Col. William Augustine (1757–1810), son of the General's half-brother, Aug. Washington. His mother was Anne Aylett. He married first Jane

three Negro Carpenters of his own, which he was to bring with him) to look after my Carpenters; but the unwillingness, on acc[t] of Green's family, to turn him away, prevented it.—This objection being removed, the enclosed letter, left open for your perusal, may be forwarded, or destroyed, according to circumstances, at the time you receive it; as you will best know what steps you have taken, and your prospect of succeeding, to supply the place of Green with a competent character by other means.—

I am glad to find by your last letter that the several Crops which are now on the ground look as well as could reasonably be expected.—It is, and has been, much my wish to make a visit to Mount Vernon before the meeting of Congress, on the first monday in Novem[r];—and I assuredly should have done it, had it not been for the Insurrection in the Western counties of this State[1]—which, for ought I know to the contrary, at present may, instead of it, make it necessary for me to move that way.—The state of things at this moment does not, however, enable me to decide on either movement with precision.—One thing certain, is, that if I am not at Mount Vernon before the 15[th] of October, it is not within the bounds of probability that I shall, before the Spring, be at that place; as public business will compel me to be at the Seat of Government (in this City) before the first of November (a few days before the Meeting of Congress)[2].—

Washington, daughter of the General's own brother, John Aug.; second a daughter of Richard Henry Lee; third a daughter of Col. John Tayloe. To this nephew (Wm. Aug.) Washington bequeathed the first choice of his four swords. He selected the dress sword, since decorated with a myth that it was presented by Frederick the Great, as "from the oldest general in the world to the greatest." The same nephew was one of the executors of Washington's Will.

[1] The Whiskey Rebellion at Pittsburgh.

[2] This is a passage of some historical significance. A stormy discussion was going on as to the constitutional right of the president to command the army in person, the "republicans" generally denying, the "federalists" affirming that right. It presently turned on the right of the president to

Mrs. Fanny Washington has requested leave for her Overseer Tayler to get as many boards from my land in the Neck, or else where, as will cover a Corn house at her Plantation, w^ch^ it is deemed necessary to erect;—this you may permit, without waste, to be done by her own Carpenters, without any aid of mine.—

Mrs. Washington requests that the Gardener would send her some Artichoke seed of the best kind he has, and by the first Post under cover to me.—

I remain your friend and well wisher,

G^o^ Washington.

XXXIX.

Philadelphia Sept^r^ 28^th^ 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

In a seperate letter of this date, I have wrote you pretty fully respecting the New Road which you are appointed Overseer of, with orders to open;—that the letter may be

---

absent himself from the seat of government during the session of Congress. I have a private note written by the Secretary of State (Edmund Randolph) to Washington, while he was with the army at Carlisle, in which (Oct. 11, 1794) he says: "If I conceived it possible that an opinion uttered in Bache's paper of this morning, against the propriety of the President holding the command of the army after the meeting of Congress, should suggest any doubt in your mind, I should take the liberty of offering to you my decided sentiments to the contrary." Washington preserved silence on the dispute; but this letter to his agent Pearce shows that he had made up his mind, before leaving, to be present at the opening of Congress. In this connection the following unpublished letter of Washington may be inserted. It is in reply to a letter of Major John Clark (York Borough, Sept. 27) and dated at Carlisle, 6 Oct. 1794: "I thank you for your polite offer of attending me to the field, but my going thither or returning to the seat of Government in time for the meeting of Congress depends upon circumstances not within my information at present as to enable me to decide. Nothing short of imperious necessity can justify my being absent from the seat of Government while Congress is in session. Under this view of the matter I decline making any establishment of a sute unless that necessity appears when in the choice of Aids I must have regards to considerations of different kinds."

shewn to the Court—to Mr. Mason—or whomsoever is the mover in this business, without having other matters of a more private nature blended therewith.—

Since writing to you this day week, I have engaged a Scotchman, just arrived in this country, in the place of Green.—I do not expect much from him as an overlooker; that is, I do not believe he will carry much authority among my negro carpenters, as he appears to be a simple, inoffensive man; and because, that of House Carpentry or Joinery, is not his profession; but as he has the character of a very honest, sober, and industrious man, his example, with such representations as he may make to you, of neglect and misconduct, may be serviceable.—Making of all sorts of Plows, Carts, wheels of all kinds, and various impliments of husbandry, is what he has been brought up to; though he says he has worked two or three years at house work, and can make a Sash or a pannel door.—The buildings in his country being all of Stone, he knows nothing of framing.—The enclosed memorandum contains the out lines of the agreement between us; which has yet been verbal only.—

I have told him he is to have Green's house, Garden, &c^{t}, but if you have not an eye to it, Green will burn the fence of the latter, and strip the former of everything he can.—This man (James Donaldson) will, with his family, embark this day for Mount Vernon, on board Capt^{n} Mitchell.—But if Greens family should not have removed, they, or Donaldson's may go into the room next the Shoemaker's till Green finds a place to carry his family to; which he is to do without waste of time;—for I do not mean to keep them there, after he is gone:—Bishop, as I mentioned in a late letter, must be provided for in some way or other, to keep him from suffering.

Donaldson, if he is really skilful in making plows, Carts, Wheels, &c^{t}, may be extremely useful to me; first in mak^{g}

these things himself for the farms,—and next, in putting my own people in the way of doing it.—He is to be furnished with Tools;—and he wanted me to make him some allowance for his eldest son, who he says could work—but the latter I refused to do.—

I have written by this Post to my Nephew, to countermand the request contained in the letter which passed through your hands;—but I should not be much disconcerted (if they can be accomodated with house room) if both were employed; as the last (that is the man from Westmorel[d]) would be more competent to the Management of the Negros, whilst the other might be principally, if not wholly, occupied in putting the Wheels, Carts, Plows, and other utensils in order;—and in making and repairing Spinning Wheels &c[t] &c[t] w[ch] he professes to understand well.—

I presume you are upon some certainty ere this, with respect to Pyne.—If you are not, nor know not what is become of him, do not on this account, remain longer in suspence than you can be otherwise provided;—he wrote to me some time ago from the Federal City.—I am sorry to hear of poor Butler's illness.—The season every where, has been remark-[ab]ly sickly.—

I leave this on Tuesday for Carlisle, where I shall (from the information I expect to receive from the Insu[r]gent Counties of this state) be better enabled to determine whether I shall proceed on with the Troops, than I can do here.—If you do not see me at M[t] Vernon, of which I have very little hopes, by the middle of October, you may take it for granted I cannot be there before the meeting of Congress;—and of course not till Spring.

Remember the promise I made to my Sister[1] of a Mule, if she should send for one—let it be a broke one, and good,—

[1] Washington's widowed sister, Betty Lewis, was in good circumstances; it was simply through affection that he occasionally sent her some useful present. (See Introduction.)

but not the very best.—Your letter (sent to this place as usual) will come regularly to me.—

I am Your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

XL.

Philadelphia Sep^{t} 28th 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

I have received your letter of the 21st inst^{t}, and the Reports of the preceding week.—

I am glad to find your seeding of Wheat is over, and that it is compleated in such good time.—

There cannot, in my opinion, be the smallest occasion for opening the new road, which under different circumstances than those which exist at present, was ordered by the Court at my *particular request.*—Nor would it be, if opened, of the least benefit to any one except Mr. Thompson[1] Mason and very little to him, as he has the free use of all the Roads (though with gates to them) that he ever travelled before that order was obtained.—It is to be observed that, when I applied for, and the Court granted that Road, the design was, to relieve me from a great hardship, without doing any injury to the public; for at that time the Ferry called Posey's (where Crow lives) was a public one[2]—of course the Road from the Gum-spring to it, and from my Mill to it, were public Roads; and by the Laws of Virginia Gates were forbid on them.—This prevented me from enclosing my land, as the expence of Lanes on both those Roads would have been too heavy for the advantage w^{ch} would have re-

[1] Error for Thomson. (See *ante.*)

[2] Established and originally owned by Capt. John Posey, of Fairfax, who was beaten by Washington for the House of Burgesses (1765). The Ferry ran from just above the Mount Vernon fisheries, mouth of Dogue Creek (E) across to Marshall Hall. It was bought and operated by General Washington.

sulted.—Under this view of the case, and because very few who passed the ferry travelled the Alexandria Road, I was led to form the plan of having but *one public* Road through my Mount Vernon tract, which would have been from my Mill, by the Barn on Union farm, along the string of fence that divides the upper from the lower fields, until it came to the Gate on the hill, by a lane, that distance.—All, in that case, who would have cros'd the Ferry going to, or returning from Maryland, would pass the Mill ;—at which place, if going down the Country, they would take the Road to Colchester ;—if going towards the Mountains or Alexandria, they w^d have to pass by Mr. Lund Washington's.[1]—This was the real situation of things when the Court, on my petition, was pleased to afford me the relief I asked, by permitting me to stop up the *old*, and to open *new* public Roads.—But the thing has now taken an entire new shape; for finding after this permission was obtained that the Ferry had become so unproductive as not even to furnish the Boats which were required, I petitioned the Assembly to discontinue it by law, as it was established by law ;—hence the Roads to it, I presume, ceased to be public ;—and the new ones unnecessary—at least for the present—as the old ones (with the difference of Gates only) serve all the purposes they ever did.—Upon this representation, which I am sure is a candid and just one, I persuade myself that the Court will not compel me to open the Road you say you have been required to do, when no person, half as much as myself, would be benifitted by it.—In fact, with my force, the thing is impracticable this fall ;—for the greater part of two miles, from the levelness of the ground, and water (knee depth at times) standing thereon, would require a high causeway to render it passible in the winter.—If it was done I should derive more benefit from it than any other person—for there would be no pretext then

[1] "Hayfield." Near the old Mill Dam, about 4 miles N. W. of Mount Vernon mansion. Colchester, now a ruin, is on Occoquan Creek.

for passing through my Farms and leaving the gates open for my own stock to get out and others in.—These sentiments may be communicated to the Court if the order with which you are served is positive—and to Mr. Mason who I am confident is not disposed to run me to such an expence at this season for so trifling (if any) an advantage to himself.'

I am your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

XLI.

Reading Oct^{r} 1st 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

I am thus far (55 miles from Philadelphia) on my way to Carlisle agreably to what I wrote you on Sunday last.—

As I am not much accustomed to the management of Buck Wheat—and think I have heard you declare the same—the purpose of my writing to you now, is to inform you that this Crop on the whole road I have travelled, is cut down (although I should have thought it much too green) and remaining in the field in very small cocks, not larger than a Wheat sheaf drawn to a point, at top, where I presume it is to continue until the seed gets perfectly ripe, and the straw cured.—The Potatoes too were every where digging.

I remain your friend and well wisher

G^{o} Washington.

XLII.

Carlisle 6th October 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

I wrote you a few lines from Reading the first instant—and the only design of writing to you now is, to inform you that I clearly see that it will not be in my power to visit Mount Vernon before the meeting of Congress, and of course not 'till the Spring.—I mention this matter that you may not,

whenever the situation of your business will permit you to be absent, delay your journey to the Eastern Shore from an expectation of seeing me in Virginia.—

I have no particular directions to give, because I have confidence in your judgment, care and integrity.—I would have, however, all the Stock that would be endangered in the course of the winter, disposed of before it arrives;—and no more hogs put up for Porke than such as are of fit age and size.— I am Your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

XLIII.

Philadelphia Nov^{r} 2^{d} 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

I have had neither leizure for, nor opportunity of, writing to you since I did it from Carlisle, 'till my return to this place; which happened on Tuesday last.—In the mean time I have received your several letters of the 28th of Sept^{r}—and 5th 17th and 23^{d} of last month.—

As the accident I met with in June last, prevented my riding about my farms when I was last at home, I should have been very glad to have made another visit to it in the course of last month; knowing if I did not do it then, It would not be in my power to do it before April; as Congress will, more than probably, set till March and the roads during that month will be in no condition to travel.—The perfect confidence however which I place in your care, judgment and integrity; makes me quite easy under the disappointment; which I should not have been if my affairs were in the hands of a person of whom I did not entertain the same favorable opinion.—By looking to the letters which, from time to time I have written you, and to the written details I give you of my plans when you first entered on my business, you will, without any additional direction to them, in this place, see what my views are, and can be at no loss to carry them into

effect the ensuing year.—To introduce system, and a regular course of crops; to introduce grass where, and when proper; —to make meadows, and hedges;—to recover my fields from the exhausted, and gullied state in which many of them are; —to improve my stock, and to get into away of establishing large dayries, and turning that stock to profitable uses (which may be the case so near as my estate lyes to Alexandria, George Town, and the Federal City)—and to make much Hay, which will always be in demand, and command a good price; are much more desirable objects with me than to push the best of my fields, out of their regular course, with a view to encrease the next, or any other year's crops of *grain*.—I know full well that by picking and culling the fields I should be able, for a *year* or *two*, to make larger crops of *grain;* but I know also, that by so doing I shall, in a few years make nothing, and find my land ruined.—

I am very sorry to hear of the loss of your daughter, but as it was an event long expected, you must have been prepared for the stroke.—The country every where that I have been, or heard from, has been uncommonly sickly the past summer, and to the present moment.—The ague and fever has been sorely felt where it was never known to be before, together with other complaints.—The death of Paris is a loss, that of Jupiter the reverse.[1]—

You have not informed me in any of your letters, which have come to hand, whether you have engaged Pyne or any other for the Mansion house, or whether M^{c}Koy continues another year, or is to be replaced by any other.—I did not expect much from James Donaldson as an Overlooker of my Carpenters, when I engaged him; and for that reason observ'd to you, that if my Nephew (Col^{o} Will^{m} Washington of West-

[1] The colored aristocracy of Mount Vernon had grand names: Cyrus, Cæsar, Hercules, Paschal, Bristol, Richmond, Bishop, Lee, Charles Washington. Among the female names occur some unusual ones—Sinah, Mima, etc.

moreland) should have engaged the man I wrote to him about, to keep both would be attended with no disadvantage; but I have not heard or received a syllable from my Nephew in answer to my letters—hence I infer they never got to his hands; and the demand for workmen at the federal City is such, and their wages consequently so high, that if Donaldson as an overlooker should prove incompetent, I know not how, or where you will get supplied.—If he understands what he professes to have been bred to, and is sober and industrious, he may prove a very useful man to me, although he is unfit to have the care of my Carpenters.—But what have you done with him, if Greens family still occupy the house?—By my agreement with him, he is entitled to the use of *that* house, and Garden, and may consider it as a breach of contract to be deprived of it.—What then is to be done with the other family.—I cannot bear the thought of adding to the distress I know they must be in, by turning them a drift; and it would be as disagreeable to let them come into that part of the Green house adjoining the Shoemakers room;—their habits are not good;—and to mix them among the Negros would be attended with many evils as it respected themselves;—and no good as it respected me.—It would be better therefore on all accounts if they were removed to some other place, even if [I] was to pay the Rent; provided it was low—or make some allowance towards it.—Donaldson and family will get disgusted by living among the Negros, if he is still in the Green house.—

I am glad to hear that your Fodder was got in good time, and that there was a good deal of it;—also that your Corn is likely to yield well from the gathering you have made of it.—It is to be regretted that your last sown wheat looks so indifferently,—especially the fallow field at Dogue run.—Get all the Buck Wheat out of the Straw as soon as you can, and put it away securely;—letting me know the quantity.—The Straw will, I presume, make good litter.—

I am very sorry to hear that the fly is getting into the Wheat.—This makes it necessary to get it out of the straw as quick as possible, and either to grind it into flour—or sell it in the grain—as soon as possible.—To know which of these is most for my benefit, order a hundred bushels of neither your *best* nor *worst* wheat to be sent to the Mill, cleaned as it would and ought to be, for sale.—Let this hundred bushels be sent to the Mill and manufactured; then see whether the different articles which is made from it, at the Alexandria prices, with the Bran &c^{t} justly rated, is worth, or would fetch more than the unground Wheat at the same Market.—If it does not, I encounter all the waste the trouble and expence of the Manufactory to a loss.—I have requested this experiment several times to be made by your predecessors in my business, but never could get it satisfactorily made; and have strong reasons for believing that my Wheat, for several years back, would have sold for more than the flour of all sorts, with the addition of the bran, shorts and talings.—The fact, with respect to the last crop, you may, I conceive, ascertain with certainty, by having recourse to the Mill books;—these will, or ought, to Shew, all the Wheat that had been received,—and all the flour and other articles which had been delivered.—Rating then the different sorts of flour (sold and used) at what it actually fetched,—and fixing a proper price on the Bran and shorts, with some allowance for the talings, gives you the total amount of the Wheat after it is manufactured. —then see what the *whole* quantity of Wheat which the Mill had received, would amount to, at what would be deemed the curr^{t}, or medium price of Wheat at Alexandria last season;—this would give you the aggregate amount in both cases, and shew the difference of the two, upon a large scale.—

Are all the Cabbins, as well as the Quarters at Union farm, fixed in the lane opposite to the Overseers house? I fear the season is too late to go into fresh daubed Cabbins.—

I am Your friend &c^{t} G^{o} Washington.

P. S.

By not hearing from you yesterday I presume you were on the Eastern Shore.

XLIV.

Philadelphia 16th Novr 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

By the Post of yesterday I received your letter of the 11th instt, with the Reports of the three preceeding weeks; (except those of the Carpenters).—I did not write to you last week, not having heard from you by the two Posts before.—

I am glad to hear that your Potatoes and Corn are likely to turn out well, and that the Wheat now in the ground looks promising.—The last Crop of that article according to your account is miserable [in quantity] and the Buck Wheat not a great [deal] better.—Of the latter, and of the Potatoes [keep] enough for Seed for next year.—[It is mi]serable for a farmer to be obliged [to purchase h]is Seeds—to exchange Seeds may, [in some] cases, be useful; but to buy them [unless in] the first year is disreputable.—

Let me know from time to time, what prices Wheat and flour are at, in Alexandria—12/6 for the first, pr Bushl; and £3 pr Barl for the latter, are the value of them in this City, at present [quotations]

The letter from Sally [Green] is enclosed.—I have no doubt [she is] in very distressed circumstances, [but am] at a loss as to the best mode of affording her relief.—That of going to Alexandria, is, I fear, a bad plan; altho', if she was able, and in earnest, to take in washing and sowing it would be the best stand for these.—What she means by keeping a shop, I am at a loss to understand;—it is to be feared her shop wd be no more than a receptacle for stolen produce, by the Negros:—Examine into this matter; and you may aid her in any thing that appears to you feasable to the amount

of twenty pounds, in [the way] of things, or on credit; but no[thing] in money, lest it should be [spent in] unessential things which [she can do with]out, instead of being applied [to actual] wants, or in the purchase of [such] as may be turned to advantage. [If she] goes to town you may give her a . . . of Wood—a little flour—and some meat at killing time; besides what is usually allowed her father.—If she goes there her eldest son may derive some benefit from the charity school which is established there at my expence.—

If she has not yet decided on her plan, she ought to do it immediately;—or at any rate, James Donaldson ought to go into the house she is in.—I am sorry he did not do it at first—that he might have been kept as seperate, and as distinct as possible from the Negros—who want no encouragement to mix with, and become too familiar (for no good purposes) with those kind of people.—I have often said, and I again repeat, that if you can get such a man as would, in all points, be a fit superintendant of my Carpenters, I would have you employ him; but this fitness ought to be ascertained—otherwise, either from [differ]ence of wages, or some other cause, [his presence] might discontent the man you [have] without deriving equivalent advantages from another.—

I do not know, if you should have been disappointed by Pyne, whether the loss will be great, for the more I saw of him, the less I liked him. [He seem]ed to be more of a talker, than [a worker].

I am glad to hear y[ou are suc]ceeding in your fall plowing—[I hope it] will be pushed vigorously, at all times that the ground is in a good state for this work.—And I am not less pleased to find you are cutting up the fallen timber.—I earnestly recommend a continuance of this plan; either, for Rails, where it will make them, or for fire wood; whenever your leizure will permit; as the waste which, heretofore, has been committed, all over my land, is shameful.—

What number of good [full-grown hogs will] you put up, or will be able [to sell] this fall, for Porkers?—[Those] on hand (with a small res[ervation) may be] disposed of, as it is not [in the line] of probability that myself [or any] of my family, can be at Mount Vernon before the next supply will [be ready]—and if the culled sheep, and other [live] stock cannot be sold, they had better (rather than run the hazard of losing them) be salted for next harvest.—

Mr. Hawkins, one of the Senators from North Carolina,[1] on his way to this place, left at Mr. Lund Washington's in order to be sent to M^t^ Vernon, sundry cuttings of valuable Grape vines for me.—The letter herewith enclosed, gives an account of them; and his manner of treating them.—Let the Gardner see it;—and after taking such acc^ts^ of them as are necessary, return the letter to me again.—

You proposed when I was last at home, to cultivate in Corn, Rye, or something else, with a view of cleansing the ground, that part of the pasture at the Mansion house which lyes above the hill, adjoining the Wood, North, and N^o^ W^e^ of the clover lot by the Quarter.—To this I consented, but did not direct it, nor do I now direct it, leaving it to yourself to act from circumstances.—I shall require however, if it is done, that a great many of the Trees be left standing (without regarding the injury the *Crop* may sustain by it, for that is only a secondary object).—These may be single; or partly single and in clumps; or all clumps; according as from their present standing and appearance, it should be thought they would answer best.—If clumps should be prepared—let them be large ones, where they can be so; not less than from

---

[1] Benjamin Hawkins, b. in Yates Co., N. C., 1754, was Washington's interpreter in intercourse with French officers; senator from 1789 to 1795, when he was appointed Superintendent of all Indians South of the Ohio, which office he held until his death (1816). He was a graduate of Princeton, and an accomplished writer, as is shown by his work on "Indian Character."

50 to 100 feet in diameter.—Let the transplanted clumps be made good this fall, and ensuing spring.—

I will bring to your view, what I was about to do myself the fall before last, with the grounds adjoining to what has been just mentioned; that if it should strike you favorably, you may carry it into effect (but from which I was then diverted by the desire of employing the Muddy hole gang of hands in the swamps at D. [ogue] Run.—It was with that gang, to clear all the land which lyes between the Alexandria road and the pasture fence, from the white gates up to the little old field, for Corn; for that Plantation (Muddy hole): instead of tending the worn out fields at that place; but to leave the Trees standing either in clumps, or singly, as they are in the adjoining part, through which the road passes.—You will readily perceive that I had a threefold object in this plan;—the first was, to open that ground like the adjoining; for ornament, and for the enlargement of the pasture;—the 2^{d} was, to avoid tending the worn out and gullied fields at Muddy hole;—and the 3^{d}, to have a stock of Wood for firing with as little carting as possible.—I merely mention the thing at this time, that you may think of it; and see how far it can be made part of the other project, within the pasture fence;—and that, if it should be thought well of, the field which otherwise w^{d} come into corn at Muddy hole may lye over. (Part at *least* of the ground through which the road to the White gates pass, that has been cleared would also require cultivation to destroy the sprouts, grubs, &c^{t} and to accomodate it better for pasture thereafter.)—I shall not enlarge as it is enough to suggest the matter for consideration; and to see how it would comport with, or militate against, the general plan of business.—I am sorry to hear that your people still continue sickly —the complaint is general, and in many places mortal.—

I wish you well and am

Your friend

G^{o} Washington.

XLV.

Philadelphia Nov^{r} 19th 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Enclosed I send you thirteen hundred dollars; out of which I desire you will discharge and take in my bond, with a receipt thereon in full, from Mr. Lund Washington.—The letter to him is left open for your perusal and government in this business.—The accounts therein are, for aught I know to the contrary, correct; but if any errors should be found in them, there can be no objection to the correction of them.—When you receive the bond transmit it to me.—

Out of the above sum you will also pay to the Trustees of Alexandria or their agent or Treasurer, the sum of fifty pounds; being my annual donation to the charity school at the Academy in that place—due sometime in this month.—And I request moreover, that you will pay my annual subscription of ten pounds to the Rev^{d} Mr. Davis (incumbent of the Episcopal Church in Alexandria)[1]—When it became due I am unable to inform you; but you may know this from the paper itself—or you may do so from Mr. Herbert,[2] who interested himself to obtain the subscription.—

I am Your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

---

[1] The Rev. Dr. Slaughter, historiographer of the diocese of Virginia, writes me: "The Rev. Thomas Davis was licensed by the Bishop of London for Virginia 21 Sep. 1773, and ministered in Norfolk and elsewhere. When he went to England for ordination he carried letters from John Page of Rosewell and John Norton. Page says: 'I beg to introduce to you Mr. Davis, a candidate for orders and a late Usher of our College (Wm. and Mary). I need say but little of him as I suppose you were acquainted with his father, and make no doubt he will carry many recommendations to you.' Mr. Davis succeeded Rev. Bryan (Lord) Fairfax in Alexandria, 1792. He officiated at Washington's funeral, visited Mrs. Washington during her illness and buried her—so that it is to be inferred he had the respect of the family. He left about 1806, and died on the Eastern Shore (Va.)"

[2] William Herbert, who long occupied the Braddock House in Alexandria,

XLVI.

Philadelphia Nov^{r} 23^{d} 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 16th with the reports—except the Carpenters, which I have been without for several weeks—came to my hands yesterday.—

As I expected, so it happened, my letters to Col^{o} Will^{m} Washington of Westmoreland, did not reach him until a few days ago.—As you seem to be of the same opinion w^{ch} I entertained at first, namely, that from the easy and simple manners of Donaldson, he w^{d} not be a fit overlooker of Negros, I have again written to my Nephew concerning the Carpenter in his neighbourhood; and put the letter under cover to you, open, that if you have engaged a person for this business, or have one in contemplation for it that you think will answer well, you may accompany it by a line from yourself to stop his application—otherwise let it go, and wait the result of Col^{o} Washington's answer, which agreeably to my request, I expect you will receive; before you engage any other.—In case you should get any one in the place of Donaldson as an overlooker of the Carpenters, let him, Isaac and the boy Jem, be kept to the making and repairing of Carts of different sorts, Wheels, Plows, Harrows, Rakes, Wheelbarrows, and all kinds of farming impliments;—and tell him, as from me, that I hope, and expect, that he will take pains to instruct both Isaac and the Boy in the *principles* of the work; that I may derive benifit hereafter from his instruction of them.—

If you should succeed in getting an Overlooker for the out-doors Carpenters, you will direct the execution of such work as appears to be most wanting.—but whether he be a married, or a single man, he must not occupy the rooms in the store

---

was a distinguished citizen of that town, where his grandsons still reside. One of his daughters married Thomas (Lord) Fairfax.

house;—these, while you remain in what is called the Servants Hall, must be kept for Gentlemens servants, and my own, while I am on a visit to Mount Vernon.—When you remove to the Ferry (if you mean to do so) and the house you are now in, is restored to its former use—a single man might, in that case, occupy the rooms in the store house, in the manner Mr. Whitting did; but it would not be very convenient for a Married Man (especially one with children) to be there.—

Speaking of Gentlemens Serv^{ts} it calls to my mind, that in a letter from Mrs. Fanny Washington to Mrs. Washington (her Aunt) she mentions, that since I left Mount Vernon she has given out four doz^{n} and eight bottles of wine.[1]—Whether they are used, or not, she does not say;—but I am led by it to observe, that it is not my intention that it should be given to every one who may incline to make a convenience of the house, in travelling; or who may be induced to visit it from motives of curiosity.—There are but three descriptions of people to whom I think it ought to be given:—first, my *particular* and intimate acquaintance, in case business should call them there, such for instance as Doct^{r} Craik.[2]—2^{dly} some of the *most* respectable foreigners who may, perchance, be in

---

[1] Appendix H.

[2] The following notes concerning Dr. James Craik are mainly derived from Dr. Philip Slaughter's "Memoir of Col. Joshua Fry." Born in Oebigland, Scotland, 1730, graduated at Edinburgh, he began practice in the W. Indies, whence he came to Virginia. Commissioned as Surgeon in the regiment of Col. Fry, Washington's senior in command, they together buried their chief (31 May 1754) near Fort Cumberland, when Washington carved the inscription said to be still legible: "Under this oak lies the body of the good, the just, and the noble Fry." Washington being now in command, Dr. Craik remained attached to him; he was Surgeon-General of the Continental Army, and after the Revolution resided at Alexandria. In 1760 he married Marianne Ewell, whose mother, Sarah Conway, was niece of Washington's mother. Dr. Ewell, late president of William and Mary College, is a nephew of Dr. Craik's wife. Dr. Craik himself had been a professor in that college; and when Washington entered on the presidency he entrusted his two young nephews (Lawrence and George Steptoe, sons of Samuel Washington) to his old friend's home and teaching. A son of Dr.

Alexandria or the federal city; and be either brought down, or introduced by letter, from some of my particular acquaintance as before mentioned;—or thirdly, to persons of some distinction (such as members of Congress &c[t]) who may be travelling through the Country from North to South, or from south to North;—to the first of which, I should not fail to give letters, where I conceive them entitled.—Unless some caution of this sort governs, I should be run to an expence as improper, as it would be considerable;—for the duty upon Madeira wine makes it one of the most expensive liquors that is now used;—while my stock of it is small—and old wine (of which that is) is not to be had upon any terms: for which reason, and for the limited purposes already mentioned, I had rather you would provide Claret, or other wine on which the duty is not so high, than to use my Madeira; unless it be on very extraordinary occasions.—

I have no objection to any sober, or orderly person's gratifying their curiosity in viewing the buildings, Gardens &c[t] about Mount Vernon;—but it is only to such persons as I have described, that I ought to be run to any expence on account of these visits of curiosity, beyond common civility and hospitality.—No gentleman who has a proper respect for his own character (except relations and intimates) would use the house in my absence for the sake of conveniency (as it is far removed from the public roads) unless invited to do so by me or some friend;—nor do I suppose any of this description would go there without a personal, or written introduction.—

I have been thus particular, that you may have a full view of my ideas on this subject, and conform to them;—and because the knowledge I have of my servants is such, as to believe, that if opportunities are given them, they will take off two glasses of wine for every one that is drank by

---

Craik (George Washington) was a private Secretary of the president in his second term. Dr. Craik was with Washington at his death, his own death occurring 6 Feb. 1814 at Vaucluse, Fairfax.

such visitors, and tell you they were used by them; without such a watch over them as the other business you are employed in, would not allow you to bestow.—

I observe what you say respecting the Hogs for Porke, and have to add that so many as are necessary to furnish all those who, by your agreements, are entitled to be served with Porke; with a moderate allowance for Bacon for the use of the Mansion house, should be put up; whether they be old or young:—and I wish pains may be taken to cure the latter, as the most of that which was sent to this place was spoiled. —The principal reason why I requested that none but full grown Hogs might be put up this fall, was, that my stock of them another year might be the better for it:—but as I do not mean to buy porke, the necessity of breaking in upon the young hogs is unavoidable.—[1]

It was an omission of M^c^Koy not to measure his Potatoes when, and as they were taken from the fields; and it is the more to be regretted, as I wanted to know the quantity which grew in each lot, and in a *particular* manner, the quantity that grew among the Corn at that place; that I might see and compare the Crop of Corn and the Crop of Potatoes together.—But it would seem as if my blundering Overseers would forever put it out of my power to ascertain facts from the accuracy of experiments.—Make your estimate (as I observed in my last) of the quantity of Potatoes required for seed next year, allowing for waste and spoilage, before you use, or sell any.—It being my wish that many sh^d^ be planted.—

In making the calculation whether it is better to sell Wheat in grain, or in flour, it will be necessary to learn previously whether the first is sold by measure or by the weight at Alexandria—for if 60^lb^ is called a bushel, and the wheat weighs only 55^lb^ the difference will be very great when a 100

[1] Appendix J.

bush[ls] by measure is reduced to the bushels it will yield by weight at 60[lb].

You have never informed me what precise measures have been taken with respect to the trespasses on my land on four mile run—either of what has passed, or for prevention.—I wish you would see Mr. Minor and converse with him on this subject; and act according to circumstances.—If it be necessary to survey the land in order to ascertain the trespasses, and the boundaries, let it be done by some skilful person.—The Papers I left with you.—The wood is the most valuable part of the tract.—

You did very right in putting the amount of Col° Lyles bond into the bank of Alexandria.—Let me know the precise amount thereof.—as also of what you deposited there before, that I may debit the Bank for it.—With this letter, you will receive another, enclosing money to discharge my bond to Mr. Lund Washington; my donation to the charity school in Alexandria; and subscription towards the Salary of Mr. Davis; which I desire may be done without delay.—

I wish you well and remain

Your friend

G° Washington.

XLVII.

Philadelphia Nov. 30[th] 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

As the experiment of grinding a hundred bushels of Wheat into flour, is found more profitable than to sell the like quantity in grain;—I would have you proceed in the manufactury of what little I have made.—and I desire the particulars of the experiment may be sent to me.—and the Miller must be careful that he keeps up to it.—or I may be deceived thereby.—

Caution Sally Green against dealing with my negros after she is fixed in Alexandria.—If she deals with them *at all* she

will be unable to distinguish between stolen, or not stolen things;—and if her conduct should lay her open to suspicion, she need expect no further countenance or support from me.

What demands the Mill swamp may have upon your labourers for the next year I do not know independant of that, I should think the Mansion house and Muddy hole gangs, with such force as you might draw from the other farms, would not fall much short of clearing up the skirt of woods mentioned in my former letter; and if well grubbed, and thoroughly broke up, it would be infinitely better for Corn than N° 6 at Muddy hole, which is extremely poor and much worn.—However, as I observed in my former letter, I leave the matter to your own judgm^{t}; but desire, (not only for the sake of the Corn which will go into the ground, but for the pasture afterwards, and for prevention of sprouts choking it) that every thing may be grubbed that can be grubbed; although it will require more time to clear the land in the first instance.—And as it will look as well to be cleared in clumps (letting these clumps be, some of them large, and some small) I would have it done so; as the corn will be much better than if growing among single trees, as was the case in the Inclosure by the white gate.—This inclosure might be cleaned and brought into Corn also.—

As soon as your Corn is all gathered and measured, let me have the account of it in one view—naming the farms and fields in which it grew;—Do the same by the other crops; and I wish to know, as nearly as possible, if M^{c}Koys blūdering will not suffer it to be done accurately, the quantity of Potatoes that grew in N° 4 at Dogue Run.

Have you fixed nothing yet with Pyne, nor with any other for the Mansion House?—The person living there, if you remove to the ferry, ought to be a careful and trust worthy character.—

You speak of stuff for sheds, but do not say where.—I wanted sheds on the foundations which were laid of brick, at

Doğe run, to be erected for the work horses, oxen, &c^{t}—the Corn houses making one of the ends to them.—My plan was fully explained to Green, but whether Isaac or Tom Davis understood it, or not, I am unable to say.—They were to be half roofs, open in the front so high as to admit horses &c^{t} freely into them without danger of rubbing their heads or backs.—above that to be boarded.—

I will get four or five bushels of clover seed and send it to you in time and shall depend upon your having enough of all other sorts.—

I am your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

P.S.

I hope you received my last letter, with the 1300 dollars safe.

XLVIII.

Philadelphia Dec^{r} 7th 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 30th ult^{o}, with the weekly reports, came safely to hand.

By mistake, the sum of £300 was omitted in the charges against my bond, to Mr. Lund Washington; as you have discovered in the above letter.—By my mode of settling the *bonded* account, he will be £7. 10. 8 in my debt—and by the mode he proposes, I shall be £51. 12. 11. in his debt.—Which of these is the mode by which a Court of Law, or Equity, would settle it, I neither know, nor shall try; all that I can say on the subject, I have already said in my letter to him—viz—that Mr. John Mercer[1] settled my acc^{t} with his father's and Brothers Estate by charging me interest on all *his* payments; and when I objected thereto, he said it was the method by which the Chanceller in Vir-

[1] Son of John Mercer of Marlborough, of Stafford Co., Va., first editor of Virginia Laws.

ginia settled matters of a like nature; which was confirmed by Mr. Randolph, who was well acquainted with the practice of that Court[1].—However, as I am determined to have no dispute on the subject, Mr. Washington may settle it by which account he pleases, (both are enclosed,) or by striking a medium between the two methods, as shall be most agreeable to his own ideas of justice.—Take up my bond, and after tareing my name from it, send it to me;—Let all the accounts between him and me be finally closed—and unless there is an absolute occasion for it, do not run me to the expence of smiths work there, or elsewhere, in future.—

After you have discharged this account—and such others as are known to be due, from me, place the surplus of the money in the bank of Alexandria, and give me the amount of the sum.—But on second thoughts, there will be your own wages—the wages of the Overseers—&c^{a} which will be due in a very little time.—Let all be paid—for I never like to be in debt to any one—or have any money in my possession that another has a right to call for.—You had better therefore pay all these off—detain what is due to yourself—and not close, or transmit your accounts until these are done, and the year is ended, that your next, and every account may commence with the new year.—

In my last, I desired that my Wheat might all be manufactured and held in readiness for the first good market that shall offer, of which keep me advised.—The price of Superfine flour at this place is 65/ p^{r} Bar^{l} and that of fine 62/ and 62/6—Wheat from 9/6 to 12/6 according to quality.—

As your crop of fodder this year has been great, and got in good season—and much more grass than usual cut, I flatter

[1] Edmund Randolph, at this date Secretary of State, had been Washington's legal adviser for many years before and after his appointment as the first Attorney General of the United States. (Appendix F, 3d letter, and Appendix H.)

myself you will have a good deal of hay for sale.—Be this, however, as it may, do not sell close until you are able to see your way through the winter clearly.—I wish that my horses, and stock of every kind should be fed with judicious plenty and œconomy; but without the least profusion or waste.—And be particularly attentive whilst you are feeding away the Potatoes to reserve an ample stock of them for seed;—as also of Turnips.—If there came no more than 600 bushels of Potatoes from the field N° 4 and the lots, at Dogue run, the crop must have been a very indifferent one at that place;—but I was more anxious to know how many bushels grew in the field N° 4 that I might compare it with the yield of the same field in Corn.—

I think it would be no unsatisfactory experiment to fat one bullock altogether with Potatoes;—another, altogether with Indian meal;—and a third with a mixture of both:—keeping an exact account of the time they are fatting, and what is eaten of each, and of hay, by the different steers; that a judgment may be formed of the best, and least expensive mode of stall feeding beef for market, or for my own use.—

You will recollect, that when N° 5 comes into tillage (which I believe it is to do in course, next year) that the Woods within the fence is to be cleared up, and prepared also, for Corn, in order to supply the place of the two lots by the Barn, and the barn yard itself, which were taken from that field.—

I intended that the sheds at that farm, which were intended to be erected on the brick foundations adjoining the two Corn houses, should be shingled with cyprus, and mention it now, that it may not be misunderst[d] when the work is gone about.—

As the wood on my four mile run tract, is the principal value of it, I would not have you delay enquiring into the nature of the tresspasses;—nor in punishing of those who are guilty of them, if the proofs are clear.

How does the new race at the Mill progress?—and when do you conceive it will be fit for use?—

How does James Donaldson conduct himself?—Does he appear to understand *well* those kinds of work which he professes to have been particularly bred to?—And has he moved into the house below the hill?—caution him against familiarities with the Negros.

I perceive by your last letter that you have moved your family to the ferry, but have left a bed for yourself in the end of the Store.—If you had liked it better it would have been quite agreeable to me that you should have retained a room in the house, the one in which I believe you were accustomed to lodge—but do in this matter as is most agreeable to yourself.—

What was expressed in a former letter respecting the manner of treating visitors to Mount Vernon, was laid down as a general rule; but persons not always recommended, or introduced in the manner I described in that letter, may go there, who are entitled to equal civilities; and in such cases you must be governed by your own judgment;—and in this I have so much confidence as to rely on it; being well convinced that your regard for propriety will not suffer any misapplication of the means that may be committed to your care,—and as far as it is practicable, that you will not suffer the Servants to misapply them.—Therefore, for such occasions, and for the use of the sick, I desire you will lay in a box of claret, and some lisbon, or Tenerif wine, that my Madeira may be reserved, as it is old, and not easy to be replaced, for my own use when I get home.—I remain your

friend and well wisher

G° Washington.

XLIX.

Philadelphia Dec^{r} 14th 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 7th inst^{t}, enclosing the reports of the preceeding week, came duly to hand.—

I approve your idea of clearing up the wood between the fence and the road, and letting it lay over to another year;—but quere, would it not be better, instead of cleaning the ground *thoroughly*, and exposing the earth to the rays of the summers sun, to have it *well* grubbed, and lye with all the brush on it until the proper period arrives for breaking it up for Corn?—In many places, this is a universal practice;—and in the opinion of some (especially in the Northern and Eastern States) an indispensable one.—They have two ways of doing this.—The one is, by letting the brush lye on the ground until the leaves, and small twigs have fallen, and are beginning to rot; which, when plowed in, occasions putrefaction and fermentation, and of course more product, after these have happened.—The other is, to let the brush lye (not in heaps, by piling it up, but as it is cut off) until the Spring,—and then set fire to it; which spreading over the whole surface, equally, warms the earth, while the ashes serve as a manure.—w^{ch} of these is best, or whether either of them are better than to expose the soil to the Sun (as it is of a cold and sour nature) deserves consideration.—At any rate I agree with you in opinion, that it is best, as you have already plowed up N^{o} 6 at Muddy hole, not to tend the ground (now in wood, and of w^{ch} we are speaking) in Corn next year —My wish, as I mentioned in a former letter, is, that when the ground is cleared, every thing that can be taken up by the Roots may be grubbed;—for though more time will be required to do this—yet, in the end, labour will be saved by it; as to lay the grubs all one way, will also do.—

I am very willing that you sh[d] tend the Number of Corn holes at the Mansion house which you propose, and with the force belonging to that place; but do you not mean to comprehend the ground between the Orchard and outer fence, as well as the Orchard itself?—the first is necessary in order to clean, and get the ground in order; as bushes and shrubs are spreading over it.—But where, and in what manner do you mean to have the communication between the Stables and the pasture below the Hill?—The most natural one, at least the one most out of sight, would be by a lane around the clover lot, by the Quarters back side.—The fence to inclose that field, for Corn, ought not to appear in view of the house; and for that reason sh[d] discend the hill (far enough to effect this purpose) that goes from the lot where the Potatoes grew last year to where the old cabbins stood.—

I likewise think with you that the field between the Meadows and Mill would hardly pay the cost of cultivation until all the woods which are therein is cleared up; and therefore have no objection to letting it remain awhile longer:—but I cannot consent, in order to effect this, to be tending the *same* fields over and over again; because they may happen, at this moment, to be in some what better condition.—This would be continuing a practice which has been the destruction of my land hitherto, and which my great aim and endeavor is to avoid.—By the last report from Union farm I perceive you are plowing in N° 6, but for what purpose I cannot conceive, as I have not recollection enough of my plan of rotine to decide whether it is agreeable thereto—but know that it was in small grain last year and in Corn the year before and parts of it extremely poor.—Nor do I at this moment call to mind, What field, at that farm, goes into Corn next year; if it be N° 4, as part of it, according to both our ideas had better lay longer untilled, I would ask whether the difficiency might not be made up for the hands thereof by tending the Inclosure between the white gates and the gate in the

hollow?—Good part of that Inclosure, if the trees were trimmed up, and in some places thinned, would bring (for it has brought) good corn.

I hope, and wish, Allison may turn out well.—I know nothing of the one you have engaged—but it is a family of very little respectability, and closely connected with a set of people about my Mill—the Pools particularly—than whom I believe, a more worthless set are no where to be found.—It was this Allison too, if I mistake not, with whom Crow spent, or rather mispent much of his time.

I remember well your speaking to me concerning the erecting sheds for the Cattle by the new barn at Union farm and my consent thereto—nor do I object to them now—On the contrary am much pleased that you are extending them to all the farms—but desire that these may not prevent the erection of those I had contemplated by the Barn at Dogue run for the work horses and Cattle, so soon as y^e^ Carpenters are enabled to build them.—

I perceive you are gathering thorn berries, with which I am pleased; but to turn them to account they must lye buried a year before they are sown—I presume however, you have informed yourself of all this.—

Is it possible that the Wheat you send to Mill should only weigh 48½ and 49 ^lbs^ p^r^ B^l^?—the Millers report says this.—

Let me have the dates of the deposits of the money which you placed in the Bank of Alexandria;—they are not mentioned in the Mem^m^ which came in your last letter.—

Is Oneil still quarrying stone at Mount Vernon?—What has he raised and what has become of it.—

I remain—Your friend &c^t^

G^o^ Washington.

L.

Philadelphia Dec^{r} 21st 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 14th instant with the papers and reports, which were enclosed therewith, came safe to hand.—

The whole amount of the Corn Crop I perceive is, 1639 barrels.—I perceive also, by the reports of the last week, and I believe it has been as much for several Weeks preceeding, your weekly consumption of this article is 22 barrels to the Stock, and about 14 to the Negros; amounting together to 36 barr^{ls} which multiplied by 52, the number of weeks in a year makes 1872; and is 233 barr^{ls} more than is made.—How far this extraordinary consumption has been occasioned by the Hogs which have been fatting, and how far it is capable of reduction, it is more than I am able at this distance, to determine.—It w^{d}, if continued, be using *considerably* more than ever was expended on the Estate;—for which reason, as I observed in one of my late letters to you, at the same time that I wish nothing to be starved thereon, I would have the Corn—and indeed every thing else—administered with the utmost œconomy—for hard indeed will it be, upon me, if I can make no more from my estate—Wheat alone, excepted—than is consumed thereon; and from the produce of that article, Overseers wages, and every thing that is bought, is to be paid.—

Can you form any judgment from the Oats that have been threshed, what will be the amount of the Crop?—I am really mortified at not knowing the quantity of Potatoes that grew in N^{o} 4 at Dogue run, that I might have compared it with the yield of corn in the same field; and thereby decided with more certainty and precision on cultivating of both in that manner.—Do you suppose that that field w^{d} have yielded more Corn if it had been planted in the usual way—at the distance of 5½

or 6 feet a part, each way (which would have given about the same number of stalks to the acre) than it has done at 4 by 8. —And does the growing wheat in that field, look as well as it does in others, equally exhausted?—It is interesting to know this.—I wish also to know how the Wheat and Barley, in general looks? and whether this mild autumn has not pushed it too forward?—I am equally desirous of knowing how the Clover and other grass-seeds which were sown last spring and winter look at this time?—A finer summer and fall never could have happened for them, than we have had.

The price of flour in Alexandria is far short of what it sells at here,—ten dollars p^{r} barr^{l} being the price of it in this city. —This is an additional inducement to hasten the manufacturing of all the Wheat I have;—for as the freight round does not exceed half a dollar, I shall not be disposed to receive there much less than the difference of freight and insurance, between the two places.—

When is it probable, with the force that is employed on the Mill race, it will be completed; and the water turned therein?—I ask this question because I do not recollect the turn in it which you speak of; nor how far, nor what depth it is, from thence to the upper end of it.—

I am of opinion that you had better give the Barn at Muddy hole a thorough repair—and do all the jobs which are necessary, before the New Barn at River farm is undertaken. —I should like to consult you on the spot, before any plan is formed for that;—and to know with more precision than I do at present, the advantages, and disadvantages of the one at D[ogue] Run.—As the brick foundations for the sheds which I propose to have built at the last mentioned place, were laid last October, I am surprized to hear you say that nothing can be done towards them 'till the spring, on acc^{t} of the Brick work.—Let the old Barn at River farm be well shored or propped, to prevent accidents; which if the people should happen to be in it at the time, might prove a direful one.—

The field N° 4. at that place will require much aid of manure;—and much labour to recover it from the gullied state in which it was, when I viewed it last;—and no work can be more necessary than to accomplish these; as far as the nature of the thing, and the means you possess, will enable you to perform them.—

I am glad to hear so good an account of Donaldson; encourage him to exercise spirit and industry;—and convince him that you will support his authority.—It may prompt him to exertion, and pride.—

I perceive by the Spinning report of last week, that each of the spinners have deducted half a pound for dirty wool.—to avoid this in future (for if left to themselves they will soon deduct a pound, or more) it would be best to let them receive none but clean wool.—I do not recollect what allowance of provision the Gardener was to have had by any former agreement, but being willing to allow him and his wife what they can fairly eat, themselves, without misapplication—waste, or giving it to others—you might let them have what they require, under those restrictions;—and as they have no place out of the Cellars or Meat house, to keep whatever is allowed them,—query—whether it would not be better to give it out to them once in a while (weighing it to see how they go on) than all at a time? for they must know, positively, that no part of what they shall receive in any manner, is, by saving, or otherwise, to be considered as a perquisite, and disposed of as such.—To what they *can* eat they are welcome; but none shall be sold or given away unless perchance, it may be, now and then be, to a person who visits, and may eat with them.

I am Your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

P.S.

I have looked in vain for the Notes, for the Tob^{o} I have in Alexandria;—If I should have sent them to you, let Peter carry them to Mr. Lear of George Town;—or you might send

them by the Post—but the Postage you, not he, must pay.—If you have them not enquire of Col° Fitzgerald[1] if I did not send them to him.

G. W.

LI.

Philadelphia Dec^r 28^th 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

I have duly received your letter of the 21^st inst^t with its enclosures.—

Your idea of fencing the ground at the Mansion house for Corn, accords exactly with mine (as far as I understand it) except in joining the fence which comes from the first (outer gate) in the hollow to the corner of the clover lot, north of the road, by the deep washed gully.—My idea was to continue that fence on, (making a lane there between it and the clover lot) until it descends the summit of the hill which goes down to the Creek—then continue along that hill, just out of view of the house, and walks about it, by the old Cabbins, until it should strike the outer fence, which runs from the first mentioned gate to the Cr^k—in the most convenient manner; without enclosing too much ground;—that is, without enclosing more than is cultivated.—If the first course of fence (as proposed by you from the gate in the hollow) is to *join* the corner of the clover lot as above, how can there be a passage, as usual, into the lower pasture, when the fence from that corner continues round the several Inclosures quite to the Wharf or lime kiln?—I conclude from hence that you either misunderstand me, or I mistake you, because in this instance our ideas are not to be reconciled.—

I do not conceive that all the gr^d comprehended within the line of fence as I have described it, will much, if any, exceed 35 or 40 acres:—but of this I speak by guess, never having

[1] Formerly on Washington's staff, and sometime Mayor of Alexandria.

measured it.—The woods without the pasture fence from the Inclosure by the white gate, up to the little old field on the road to Alexandria, I have measured; the contents of which (as you may see by the enclosed draught of it) is 74 Acres; and in the part comprehended from the turn in the road, at a kind of pond, to the place where the gate used to stand (on the old road leading into the house) contains 38 acres.—Within the white gate Inclosure (as the fences runs) there is, to the best of my recollection about 40 acres.—

Whether to put this last mentioned inclosure into Corn, with the Union farm hands, or that part of N° 4, at that farm, which adjoins the lane leading up to the Barn, in Oats—or whether both can be accomplished, I shall leave to your own judgment, with this caution—viz—never to undertake more than you can execute *well;* allowing for the usual chances of weather.—I do not hesitate to confess, that reclaiming, and laying the grounds down handsomely to grass, and in woods thinned, or in clumps, about the Mansion house is among my first objects and wishes.—If corn should be attempted in this enclosure, the trees may, in places, be thinned a little; but not much; but all must be trimmed up—Will knows how to do it.—The grubs should be compleately eradicated to prevent the ground from fouling again with succours &c^{t}—and the hill sides (liable to wash into gullies) ought not to be broke.—The other fields at this (Union) farm, will go on agreeably to what is mentioned in y^{r} letter.

And I perceive the rotations for Dogue-run, Muddy hole and River farms are right as you have described; and the two first may go on agreeably thereto.—One reason why Dogue-run has only two fields for cultivation next year is, on account of the Mill swamps which it has been my anxious wish to get in grass—one lot after another—and in complete order, and on acc^{t} of grubs in N° 5.

For the reason you have mentioned, that is, the want of a partition fence between fields N° 4 and 5 at River farm and

the difficulty of enclosing the whole securely, I consent to your managing of them in the manner you proposed next year; and letting N° 7 lye over to another year,—and that you may put Oats and clover in the ground where Buck wheat grew this year, agreeably to your proposal.—

In clearing the Wood in N° 5 at Dogue-run, leave two or three clumps of trees standing, for the purpose of shade and ornament.—and by attending to the rotation of Crops at that place you will perceive that N° 4 is to be sown with clover—let this be done at a proper time this winter, or early in the Spring, on light snow.—

Presuming you keep all my letters, that you may have recourse to them occasionally for the opinions, sentiments and directions they convey to you, I request you will carefully peruse two long letters I wrote to you at your first going to Mount Vernon—Many things were contained therein which require attention;—and some others which circumstances might not, at that time permit the execution of, that may be attempted now.—Many matters of importance were suggested in those letters and to refer to them is all that is necessary to bring them to view, and into operation where they can be, as I do not know that any change respecting them, have taken place in my sentiments.—

In bad weather, when the carpenters are unable to work out, let them prepare frames, shingles &c^{t} for putting in more dormant windows in the back of the Stables at Mansion house, and two in the front part of them;—one on each side the pediment—in the centre between it and the ends—for the purpose of giving air to the Corn and hay loft.

The weather has been so extremely favorable for ploughing that I hope this part of your business is in great forwardness.—

Tell house Frank it is my hope, and expectation (now there is nothing for him to do in the house) that his whole time will not be spent in idleness.—He might find enough to do

(under the Gardeners directions) in the gardens, yards and lawns—Nor ought Lucy to be idle when she is not Cooking and doing other work about the house.—In spinning, knitting and such like things her leizure hours ought to be employed.—

I send you the seed of the cucumber tree[1] to be given to the Gardener, whose particular care of it I request—He may plant them in the little garden by the Salt house with a label by them.—Let him know that Mrs. Washington sent his wife as a present the things contained in the following list, by poor Austin, who died on his way to see his wife and family (at Hartford, on Saturday last) of, as is supposed an appoplexy. Mrs. Stiles, at whose Tavern he died has been desired to send on the Mare, he road, with her Mule Colt; and all the things (clothes included) he had with him, with a list thereof to Mount Vernon, where I hope they have arrived safe—among these was the bundle containing the articles for the Gardeners wife, and another containing two pair of Gloves for Mrs. Stuart[2]—What other things besides his clothes might be in the Portmanteau I know not—probably he might be carrying things home for his wife.—I wrote to you by him, but whether the letter may reach you or not is uncertain, now.

The Gardener complains of the injury which the shrubs (even in the yard) sustain from the Deer. I am at a loss therefore in determining whether to give up the Shrubs or the Deer!—Is there no way of frightning them from these haunts?—

I hope every possible attention has been, and will continue to be used to preserve the Porke from receiving injury from the warm weather.—

The enclosed letter from old Butler shews his distress.—I think you were perfectly right in detaining part of his wages for lost time;—yet, as I can better afford to be without the

---

[1] *Magnolia Acuminata.* [2] Wife of an Overseer.

money than he can, you may pay him for the full time he was at Mount Vernon without deduction.

I will endeavor to procure and send you some honey locust seed as I conceive very formidable hedges may be made of them.—I find Doll at the Ferry is constantly returned sick—the Overseer at that place ought to see that this sickness is not pretence.—

Flour is still at ten dollars a barrel in this City and not likely to fall.—

I am your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

LII.

Philadelphia Jan^{y} 4th 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

I have received your letter of the 28th of last month with its enclosures, and am sorry to hear you were unwell, at that time;—but hope you have quite recovered.—the warmth, and changeability of the weather have been productive of violent colds in this part of the country.—

Such has been the goodness of the last autumn, and mildness and openess of the winter, hitherto, that I hope all the Oat grounds will be got in good order for early Seeding of this grain, and clover, (where the latter is to accompany it;) for I have always found that late sowed oats, or clover, unless followed by a dripping spring, and in other respects suitable weather, rarely come to much.—Dry and hot weather prevents the growth of the first, and entirely destroys the latter, in the young and tender stage of its growth.—

After getting out as many of your *best qualitied* Oats for seed, as the ground by the rotations, and such other as you shall allot for them, may require,—take care that the residue is not used so near as to disfurnish my horses when I may come to Mount Vernon; which, probably, will be twice between the adjournment of Congress on the 3^{d} of March, and

their meeting again in autumn.—The first for a flying trip (as soon as the roads will permit me to travel after the adjournment) with not more than five horses;—the other, during the hot weather, for a longer term; and with more than double that number of horses; as Mrs. Washington and the family will accompany me.—

What chimney has fallen, by w^{ch} negro children were hurt, and how are they now?—Under real, or pretended sickness, I perceive Doll, at the Ferry, rarely does any work;—it would be well to place her in a situation where her ways can be attended to.—If she is really unable to work, none will be required of her; if she is able, deceitful complaints, of which she is very capable of making, ought not to avail her.

Pursue the rotation of Crops at Dogue-run farm rigidly, in all its parts; and as directed in all the fields.—However I may license alterations, and departures from it at the other farms, I will not deviate from it in the smallest degree at this.—Therefore, clover must be sown on the Wheat in N° 4 (and I hope in good time, and the sooner the better)—and Potatoes is to be planted in N° 5, along with the Corn; in the same manner they were last year in N° 4.—Let the rows of each, range N° and South;—that is as the fence between N° 5 and the Wood runs.—As soon as the clover seed comes to this market, and a vessel is up for Alexandria, I will ship you five bushels of it;—If more be wanting, let me know it, as I am not disposed to stint the ground, nor to prevent your putting it into any lots you may think proper;—or to scatter seed in places where it is now too thin, if you conceive benefit will result therefrom.—

A year or more ago, I had made, in the neighbourhood of this City, a large and strong plough for turning a broad and deep furrow.—This plow I sent to Mount Vernon to be employed for those purposes;—and in November 1793, a drilled plow which had been sent to me from England, I also shipped at this place for Mount Vernon.—Has the first ever been

used?—and to what useful purposes can the other be applied? —I forgot when I was at Mount Vernon in June last, to enquire for either of these plows, and the latter (that is the drilled plow) having arrived here, and was reshipped during the prevalence of the Yellow fever in this City, I never saw it.—consequently know not for what uses it was intended, or is fit for.—

I wish you well and am

Your friend

G° Washington.

LIII.

Philadelphia Jan^{y} 11th 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 4th inst^{t}, with the reports, is received—but the Miller, I perceive has left off, or rather I believe, has not yet begun to report what Wheat is manufactured, and what flour is made.—The price of both these articles have fallen in this market as well as in that of Alexandria; but as I see no permanent cause for it, and know that the last years crop of Wheat was very short indeed, in all parts of the United States, I have no doubt of its getting up again; if the holders of it, and the flour are not too precipitate in their sales thereof.

My ideas with respect to the Inclosure for Corn at the Mansion house, (within the present pasture fence) are clearly understood by you;—and I wish the fence to run accordingly; and if all the ground which shall be inclosed by it cannot be cultivated in this article, I should prefer putting that part into it which you deem (and I believe very properly) the poorest for the produce of either part, is not so much an object with me, as cleaning—ornamenting—and laying the grounds to grass; after preparing and improving of them as fully as my means will allow.—On this principal also it is, I tend the field by the White gates;—and want to clear up (as

fast as I can) the Woods between the Alexandria road and the pasture fence.—That the grubbing in this wood will be found very bad I have no doubt,—and though the clearing of it may not keep pace with my *wishes*, yet my expectations are not unreasonable.—All the force that can be bestowed in the accomplishment of these objects, I wish may be given; but I do not mean that labour, more essential at other places, is to be neglected in order to effect them.—

As I shall be at Mount Vernon (if nothing unforeseen prevents it) before the Corn in the white gate inclosure will be planted, the thinning of the trees in it may be left till I come;—but the vistos as well as the other parts of the field had better be plowed altogether that the whole face of the ground may be smooth and even.—When you clean up within the pasture fence, do not meddle with the trees that grow on either side of the road leading to the first gate on the sides of the hills—nor in the valley which leads from the first gate for some distance up it.—The lane back of the clover lot will pass over very bad and dangerous gr^{d} for horses, or stock of any kind to be crowded and quarrelling in;—but you will, I have no doubt, fall upon some expedient to guard against the accidents which otherwise might arise from the deep gullied part of it.—

My plan for the two sheds at Dogue-run (one on each side of the barn, and adjoining the Corn houses, which were to make the south ends of them) was, to lay Cills on the brick foundations, which were intended to be raised high enough above the ground to prevent their rotting.—On these Cills a frame was to be erected, the plates of which was to be high enough to be out of the way of the horses heads; with a range of troughs for feeding; and either racks, or places back of the troughs or mangers as in the stables at the Mansion house, for Hay.—The backs, and ends next the barn to be boarded up:—and the fronts also, as low as to admit a tall horse to pass under with ease.—The Posts and studs may be

placed at such distances as to suit for Stalls now, or hereafter. —The enclosed rough sketch, with what I have here said, will give you a full idea of my design.—A door in the middle of each shed must be left, through which to carry out the dung, or litter to the stercoraries back of them.—

As it is my wish to plant many Irish potatoes this year, be sure to reserve enough for seed, by making ample allowance for thefts, waste, and rotting.—I shall send you by the first vessel a bushel and half of clean honey locust seed ; which I would have raised in a nursery for the purpose of hedging.— By an experiment I have made a (large) quart contains 4,000 seed ; this, allowing ten Seed to a foot, would sow, or plant, four rows of 100 feet each ;—at this rate, 40 quarts (which I think you may count upon, at least) would require 160 rows ; gr^{d} for which I would have you prepare whenever you shall find most convenient, that the seed may be put in as soon as it arrives :—two feet apart will be enough for the rows, as to weed the plants until they are fit to transplant is all that will be required—and this will be done in two years.

I am sorry to hear that French Will is resuming his old tricks again.—The lye he tells, respecting my promise of freedom to him, after seven years service, carries its conviction along with it ;—inasmuch as I had no certainty of holding him an hour after Mrs. French's death ; which might have happened within the year I hired him ; how then could I promise freedom to a person I held under such a tenure ?— Harsh treatment will not do with him ;—you had better therefore let him piddle, and in this way (though I believe little trust is to be placed in him) get what you can out of him.—

What is the matter with Dick at Dogue-Run, who has been reported lame for sometime ?—

I am Your friend

G^{o} Washington.

LIV.

Philadelphia Jan^{y} 25th 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

Since my last of this day week, I have received your letters of the 11th and 18th inst^{t}, with the weekly reports—and an acc^{t} of sundry payments and the rec^{ts} therefor.—The latter (that is the vouchers) I did not wish to have had sent—it would have been time enough to exhibit these when I come home, and settled the acc^{t} regularly.—All I wanted for the present,—or rather for the past year—was a gen^{l} acc^{t} of *all* the monies you had received, and paid, from the time of your taking charge of the business, up to the close of the year 1794. comprehending therein the Overseers Wages—and whatever belonged properly to that year, that I might have a view of the receipts and expenditures thereof, and might see how I was going on.—

In looking over your acc^{t} curr^{t}, and comparing it with the Millers receipt, I find an error of £9–4–6 to your disadvant[a]ge—that is, you have only charged me with £22–18–0 cash paid him, whereas by his receipt, it appears that he had got from you £32 . 2 . 6 cash, and acknowledges to have received the first named sum in other articles.

I am sorry to find that flour has fallen so considerably before the little I made was ready for market, and was disposed of;—but as there is no reason that I can perceive for this great fall (knowing, that the Wheat crop last year was extremely short, in all the States of the Union which raise this grain for exportation) I have no doubt of the price being up again (possibly not so high) before the warm weather; when it must be sold at any rate, for fear of its spoiling.—

How does, or did whilst the ground was uncovered, your early Wheat look?—I was unlucky in my growth of it last year.—Doct^{r} Stuart had a *good* return for what he sowed;—

and Col° Ball a very great one.—I wish there might not have been some imposition on me, the year before last in the seed; of this I entertained some suspicion when you informed me last harvest that it appeared to be very little forwarder in ripening than the common wheat—Does, or did your crops of Wheat continue to look well before the Snow fell?—and your grass lots, and meadows also?—

How does the treading floor in the new barn at Dogue-run answer?—Having tried it now in both Wheat and Oats, you must be enabled to decide, whether it is a more expeditious mode than to tread on the ground, or not.—That it is more clean and safe, if the lower door is always kept locked (w^{ch} it ought to be, except when the fan is at work) can admit of no doubt.—

I approve of your idea of putting the little old field at the ferry into Corn, and laying it down with Wheat and clover.—From the length of time it has lain out, it ought to produce well.—If there is any part to clear, do not deprive it of all the Wood—either leave single trees, or clumps;—indeed I would, without always giving particular directions, have this attended to as a *general* rule.—It is always in one's power to cut a tree down,—but time only can place them where one would have them, after the gr^{d} is stripped of them.[1]—

The Gardener may go on with his nursery—and be told that he shall be allowed the fifth of what are sold—or raised.—

Altho' Bishop should never have wanted victuals or cloaths whilst he lived, yet his death cannot be cause of regret, even to his daughter; to whom, from the imbecility of age, if not when he died, he soon must have become, very troublesome to her, and a burthen to all around him.[2]

---

[1] The only flag Washington ever suggested for the Colonies was a tree in a field. Had he ever heard of the mythical cherry tree fallen beneath his hatchet he would probably have repudiated it, not only as a lover of truth, but of trees.

[2] Bishop,—as to the care necessary for whom the reader will recall an

I never saw Donaldson's son, but from what you have said respecting him, I am very willing to allow him his victuals, and course cloathing:—but ascertain the quantum, and sort of both, in writing, to prevent mistakes and grumbling hereafter.—I am always ready, and willing, to fulfil every engagement I enter into;—and hating disputes, I wish always that contracts may be *clearly* understood;—for this reason also, it is necessary he should know that the boy must work duly and truely.—And whilst I am on this subject,—I would repeat my expectation that he will take pains to teach those who work with him (especially Isaac and the boy Jem) in the *principles* of the several kinds of work they are employed in;—particular in Carts, Wheels, Plows, Harrows, Wheel barrows, and such kinds of impliments as are used about a farm, or dwelling house.—I would also have him cautioned against an error which I have felt no small inconvenience from;—and that is, that rather than persevere in doing things right themselves, and being at the trouble of making others do the like, they will fall into the slovenly mode of executing work which is practiced by those, among whom they are.—I have experienced this not only from European tradesmen,—but from farmers also, who have come from England; and from none in a greater degree, than from Mr. Whiting, and one Bloxham, who preceded him;—and who, tho' perfectly acquainted with every part of a farmers business;—and peculiarly so (the latter I mean) in the management and use of Oxen for the Cart or plow, double or single, with yokes or with harness; yet, finding it a little troublesome to instruct the Negros, and to compel them to the practice of *his* modes; he slided into *theirs;* and at length (which I adduce as a proof) instead of using proper flails for threshing the grain, I have found my people at this work with hoop poles.—and other things similar thereto.—

---

admonition (p. 110),—had been the English body-servant of Braddock, who, it is said, when dying confided him to Washington. He married at Mount Vernon, and lived beyond fourscore years.

I am glad to find you are engaged in so useful, and desirable a work as that of filling up gullies in the fields that are coming into cultivation.—Nothing can be more benificial on the farms than this;—but where they are deep, use old trees, stumps, stones, broken rails, and such things for the bottom; —otherwise the quantity of litter and leaves which w^{d} be required, would be immense.—I served N° 5. at Union farm in this manner, where a gully was, almost across the whole field, in which a horse might have been hid;—and where, at this day, I believe there is scarcely any trace of it.—

I think it not unlikely that French's Will is in Maryland:— when he was guilty of these tricks formerly (before I had him) his walks, and harbouring place was, as I have been informed, somewhere within the circle of Broad Creek, Bladensburgh and upper Marlborough:—the precise spot I do not know, nor is it worth while (except for the sake of example, nor for that, if it stops with him) to be at *much* trouble, or at *any* expence over a trifle, to hunt him up.—

Let the Gardener know that I will endeavor to procure the Seeds he has wrote for, but tell him at the same time that he must endeavor to save seeds for himself:—Besides the high prices of Seeds in the Shops in this City, he knows from the experience of those I have heretofore sent him from hence, that they are not to be relied on.—Get from him all the Seed of the S^{t} Foin which he saved last year, and plant it to the best advantage you can the ensuing spring, for the purpose of raising seed.—I am extremely anxious to raise all the seed I can from this plant:—It must not be planted where hares can get to it;—they are so fond of it as not to let it rise to seed.—

With the Trees which were sent by Mr. Lear last spring, or from hence (I am not sure which) was sent you furze seed —as also Cale, or Cole seed:[1]—Let these also be made the most of, as well as the other grass seeds which were saved

[1] *Brassica napus.*

from the plants in the Vineyard—and from those in the little garden by the Salt house &c^{t}—The books you have will tell when to sow.—Fifty or Sixty bushels of Oats, indeed less, will be more than enough to save for my horses, the first trip I shall make to Mount Vernon, after the rising of Congress; and by the time the second trip is made, the new crop will be harvested, or on the point of it;—yet, to make the matter sure (as the second trip will consume two or three hund^{d} bushels, in all probability) put by 100 bushels for my use;—after which sell all you can spare, reserving enough of the *best* for seed and for such other uses as you know they will be wanted for.—I do not know what ground except N° 7 at Dogue-run you mean to sow with Oats next spring; but have no doubt you will take care to put in enough.—

This induces me to ask, whether, as the ferry people will have the field at Mansion house to tend in Corn, as well as N° 1 at home, it would not be as well to put the little old field at that farm, if it could be fenced, and *well* prepared in *time*, into Oats and clover this Spring, as to let it go into Corn; and then into Wheat and clover in the fall?—The Oats would answer for the horses as well as the Corn, whilst the clover would be sooner fit for use. But in this do as you like best.—

If Mr. L[und] Washington is indebted for fish, the charge, I presume, is on the fish acc^{t} and where that is I know not at present.—

I wish you well—and
am Your friend
G° Washington.

P.S.—What things were sent to Mount Vernon when the Mare and Colt which Austin rode was carried there?—And among them was there a bundle for Mrs. Ehler?

LV.

Philadelphia Feb^{y} 1st 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

I write to you this week, more for the sake of letting you know that your letter of the 25th ult^{o} with the reports, came safe, than because I have anything to communicate that is in any degree material.

I have no doubt of Ceder making a good hedge—but I have very great ones of your getting them to live, when transplanted;—and if they should not, your labour as well as the plants will be lost. Were there not Cedar berries sown in the Vineyard last year? or the year before? and whether did they come up or not?

There are various opinions as to the proper season for removing these trees:—some say spring:—some say autumn:—and others insist upon it that mid summer is the proper season.—I never succeeded even tolerably, until I removed them in deep frosts; with a block of frozen earth hard bound (by the frost) to their roots.—In this manner few or none will be lost; but in all probability the winter is too far spent for the adoption of this mode of transplanting them.—My opinion is, that *any* trees or shrubs that will bear to stand close together without injuring each other, will do for partition fences against horses, cattle, and even sheep;—but that nothing short of a close rail fence, or stone wall, is secure against hogs.—This, among other reasons has made me anxious to try (as an experiment at least) to raise these animals in Sties from pigs.—It has succeeded well where tried.—

It is happy for old Betty, and her children and friends, that she is taken of [f] the stage;—her life must have been miserable to herself, and troublesome to all those around her.—

I am—Your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

LVI.

Philadelphia Feb^{y} 8th 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter with its enclosures, came to my hands as usual, by the Mail of yesterday.—

The general accounts, as I mentioned in a late letter, may remain for settlement, until my arrival at Mount Vernon, and up to the close of the last year.

I do not, among the things sent to Mount Vernon by Mrs. Styles (as in the possession of Austin) see any shirts mentioned.—Was it an omission, or were there none sent?—Some of the articles, I presume, belonged to himself, and were designed for his wife, which she may still have if they are known.—

I had doubts myself, whether the little old field at the ferry could be got in good order, *in time*, for Oats and clover, when I suggested the idea to you; I consent very readily therefore to your tending it in Corn, and laying it down in Wheat and clover,—(what quantity is there of it, that is how many acres will there be cultivated in the piece)—and if there is the least reason to apprehend that the field by the white gates will be wanted for pasture, or cannot be *well* cultivated, I as readily give this over also—for you will recollect that my constant admonishment has been never to undertake more than you can (in the common course of weather, and other circumstances) accomplish *well*. I agree likewise to the arrangement which you propose with respect to the fields No. 1, 3, and 6 at Muddy hole;—and desire that you would, at all times, suggest any plans which you think may be advantageous;—always keeping in mind, that *immediate* profit is not so much an object with me as the restoration of worn out and gullied fields;—bringing them in condition to bear grass;—reclaiming and laying swamps to meadow; making live fences (espe-

cially where hogs are not suffered to run);—and ornamenting the grounds about the Mansion house.—

The old clover lot at that place it is my wish should be planted this year with Potatoes; and the poor parts thereof, as far as your means will extend, to be well manured.—

You should take care to advertise, in time, the horse and Jacks for covering, the ensuing season.—Let them stand at the same rates they did last year.—If they were lower I might get more Mares to them, without adding much to the profit; especially as my pastures would be injured (that is to say eaten barer) thereby.—

I am sorry to hear that your Wh^{t} fields have been so thinly covered with snow, during the late frosts and wet weather.—If this should continue to be the case, it is much to be feared that the remainder of this month, and the succeeding one, will prove very injurious.—

Herewith are the garden seeds which Ehler wrote for:—but tell him that such seeds as he *can* save, he ought to save. —It is shameful for Gardeners and farmers to be buying seeds that their own soil and climate will produce, after being once furnished.—

I remain Your friend

G^{o} Washington.

LVII.

Philadelphia Feb^{y} 15th 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter, and the reports of the preceeding Week, came duly to hand.—

It is my earnest wish to have my land on four-mile run resurveyed, and the bounds thereof ascertained; that the pretence of not knowing the lines may—no longer—be an excuse for the trespasses which are committed thereon, to the great diminution of its value;—the wood being the more important, as the land is of a mean quality.—For the purpose of survey-

ing, it was, that I left the papers with you; and more than once have called your attention to this business.—It might be well to agree upon some day with Mr. Washington[1] and others, (amongst whom a Mr. Terret joins) that are knowing to the lines, and interested in the business; that it may be effectually done if every thing is clear, and no difficulties sh[d] arise with respect to title, or bounds.—If these, or either of them, should happen, enter into no agreement that will be obligatory on me.—I attempted, as will appear by some notes amongst the papers I left with you, to Survey this land myself; but having no person with me who was acquainted with the lines, I was unable to find more than two or three of the Corners.—A Moses Ball, if living, must have some knowledge of the lines:—Mr. ——— also, but as he is interested in this business, and is accused of being a pretty considerable trespasser on the part which joins him, it would not be strange if corner and line trees both are cut down;—nor *very* strange, if it has not happened from *entire* ignorance, if he should not endeavor to perplex, and mislead, thereabouts.—As the Survey is not in consequence of a law suit, and made by order of the Court, there is no necessity of employing the County Surveyor, unless he possesses more skill than any other who can readily be got; and will do it upon as moderate terms, as any other.—Do not let my papers go out of your hands—or any copies be taken from them.—The Surveyor, if he is a man of Science, will know what the variation of the compass is, and what allowance to make for it, if any difficulty should arise from the want of the Corner, and line trees.—

I am sorry to hear that it is not likely I shall have more than a 1000 bushels of Oats to spare.—The crop must have fallen far short of my calculation, or the quantity consumed much greater than I had conceived, to reduce the stock on

[1] Lund Washington. The survey may have been suggested in the consultation (p. 106) with Col. Simms (eminent as an officer and a jurist,—a pall-bearer of Washington.) (Appendix F.)

hand, so low.—From the appearance of them growing, I had hopes that nearer four than three thousand bushels would have been produced by the several fields and lots, which were in this article, last year.—I am not disposed to take half a crown (that is 2/6) for them, yet—they certainly must be higher before the Month of April passes off, or they will bear no proportion in price to other grain.—

I have no objection to your transplanting the young cedars which grow in the nursery; but not knowing the number there may be of them, I am at a loss to what fence they should be removed.—If there was a sufficiency of them, to plant them thick enough for a hedge, from the gate which leads into N° 1 at Union farm to the Barn (along the ditch) and from thence onwards as far as that ditch runs I should prefer this as a hedge of them, to any other—next to this, I should prefer an avenue of them from the Mill road up to Union Barn (along the fence on each side).—If they are incompetent to this purpose also, perhaps it would be best to make good the hedge, with them, at River farm; which is of Cedar from the river up to the Woods.—If they are insufficient for either of these purposes, plant them wherever you think they will answer best.—You say that the seed which was sown last year did not come up.—In what manner it was prepared and sown I know not; but if they are not soaked in water (warmed I suppose would be best) and all the gum, or coat that is around them rubbed off, quite to the naked seed, it will be to no purpose to sow them—for without this is done, or they pass through the body of some animal, the gathering of the seed—preparing the ground—and sowing them, will be entire lost labor.—

If the lot between the Stable and the spring is not *well*, and thickly taken with Lucern, and entirely free from grass and weeds I wish you would put a heavy harrow with sharp teeth thereon, and tare the ground in a manner to pieces—without regarding how much the lucern plants are torn and maimed.—

In a word, make the top of the ground fine, and perfectly free from grass and weeds; and then sow it at the rate of 5 lbs of Lucern, and the same quantity of red clover, to the acre.—If none of the former has been saved from that which you grew in the Vineyard, let me know your want, and it shall be sent from hence.—If the Lucern, in the lot I have been speaking of is too thin, or overdone with grass or weeds, I would prefer plowing it up first, and then harrowing it until it is in the most *perfect* order imaginable, before it is sown in the manner before mentioned.

If you depend upon me for Linnen to cloath my Negros, let me know without delay the quantity necessary, that it may be sent in time.—And let me entreat that proper care and attention may be given to the Bacon, to prevent spoiling; and that we may find it good when we come home.

Enclosed you will find two letters, one from Smith, respecting the fishery at Union farm, and the other from old Butler.—My answer to the first, left open for your perusal before it be sent to him, will be a sufficient indication of what will be best for you to say to him on the subject of his application.—To the other I have given no answer;—but would have you enquire from time to time into his *real* situation, and afford him such relief as his necessities shall appear to require.

The tedious manner in which my carpenters seem to execute every thing they take in hand, is extremely to be regretted.—They seem, from the reports, to have been weeks getting scantling for the Sheds at D: Run; when, from the idea I had of this work, I presumed a few days would have sufficed.—I beg therefore that you will make them report how much hewing,—and how much sawing they perform in the Week.—One may know then what it is they have *really* done; and can judge, by what is known to be the performance of others, at this season in similar timber, and of similar work.—I require no more of them than others do;—but this I must have

by fair means, or by coercion,—the first would be vastly more agreeable to me.

By the Reports I perceive also, that for every day Betty Davis works she is laid up two.—If she is indulged in this idleness she will grow worse and worse, for she has a disposition to be one of the most idle creatures upon earth; and is, besides, one of the most deceitful.—

I remain Your friend

Gº Washington.

LVIII.

Philadelphia 22ᵈ Feb. 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 15ᵗʰ instᵗ and the reports, have come to hand as usual.

I was affraid the open weather we have had, with frost, would have injured the Wheat.—A short crop of this article two years running, woᵈ fall heavy upon me; as it seems to be the only thing, to any sort of amount, from which the means is derived, by which the various, and heavy expences of my estate, is borne.—If the Wheat is thrown much out of the ground, and the roots exposed, try the roller thereon—repeatedly—as soon as the earth is a little settled, and the roller will pass over it without its sticking thereto;—over the parts I mean (of the fields) that are injured. I tried this method one year with very good success; and it is a practice strongly recommended by all the Books on farming.—I have, myself, seen bunches of Wheat the roots of which have been *entirely* out of the ground, take again by the Roller's compressing them to the earth: and the chance of doing it is well worth the expence, and time which is required by the Roller, drawn with Oxen.

Put such part of the field (intended to be enclosed) at the Mansion house, into Corn, or other things, as you shall judge

best;—regarding however, what I have repeatedly mentioned, that profit from any thing that can be raised there (at the Mansion house I mean) is not so much an object with me, as cleaning the ground;—beautifying it with trees;—and laying it to grass.—I had no idea of there being 70 acres within the bounds you have described;—nor do I perfectly comprehend your description of them;—or rather, the length of each line is greater than I had any conception of.—For in the first place, I had no idea of its measuring 80 perches from the black gate (in the hollow) to the turn of the road by the corner of the clover lot;—or, that from thence to the declivity of the hill, towards the Creek, could be 87 more.—I do not mean that the fence from thence, sh. descend the hill lower than merely to hide it from the house, and from the road going up to the house.—To what part of the outer fence you propose to join the last mentioned course, I know not; and therefore cannot judge so well of the distance.—

I am a little at a loss for an answer to Mr. Thos R———s request, respecting the Jack.—I should have no objection to letting one of my Jacks stand on the Eastern shore, if entire confidence could be placed in the person to whose care he was entrusted; but from the loose, and dissipated character of the above named Gentleman so far as I have heard it spoken of, I have doubts of the propriety of committing one of them to his management:—and besides, it is almost, if not quite too late now, to negotiate this matter with him, or any other at a distance; as the season would be too far advanced before the removal could be made, and sufficient notice thereof given for Mares to be brot to his stand.—A year or two ago I was offered by a Connecticut man (who could, and would have given good security for the performance of the agreement) Five hundred guineas for four (or five) years service (I am not certain which) of the Maltese Jack; although he would (for he went to Mount Vernon to see them) have preferred the one which I think is named *Compound*—and if I ever

part with another, it shall be in that way; in order that I may know *certainly* what I am to receive.—Letting one on shares, I never will;—for in that case expences are trumped up;—one may be told of difficulties in collecting money;—and many other things, when accounts come to be settled: with a view of staving off paym^{t} which, if they do not breed disputes, are at least unpleasant things, and ought to be avoided.—The Connecticut man whom I have before mentioned, would have paid the money *down*, and run the risk of the Jack's living.—The advantage of which was very considerable; as it was the best security possible for his care of the Animal.—

If you, who ought to know Mr. R——— as well as any body does, should be of opinion that he would pay five hundred guineas *down*, or give security for his doing it within a year; and should moreover th^{k} that his care of the Animal might be depended on,—you might write him word that upon *these* conditions, he might have either of the Covering Jacks for four years; at the expiration of which he is to be returned in good condition, if living.—As there is a young Jack from Royal Gift coming on, I believe it would be best to part with *Compound*, but it is not, to me, very material which of them is disposed of, on the terms before mentioned; as I do not know to which of their colts to give the preference from any knowledge I have of them.—If you should write to Mr. R———, and he should accede to the terms here mentioned, the agreement must be drawn up in writing, by a professional man (that is by a lawyer, Mr. Ch^{s} Lee [1] for instance) and all the objects of it clearly expressed.—

---

[1] Charles Lee (1758–1815), born at Leesylvania, Westmoreland, Va., had been in the Virginia Assembly, and the Continental Congress, and was given prominent command in the expedition against the Whiskey Rebellion; he was afterwards naval officer of the Potomac, until 1795, when he was appointed U. S. Attorney General, after the death of William Bradford.

Mr. Pearce Bailey may be informed that I never lower my price of land; it is infinately more likely that it will be encreased, than to stand at even what it has been offered for.—This he might reasonably expect, as landed property is rising fast in value every where; from the number of emigrants, and others who are wanting to vest their money in that species of property.—

I am sorry my letter was so long getting to the hands of my Nephew Col° Washington;[1]—for if I have not formed a very erroneous, and unjust opinion of the conduct of my Negro Carpenters—there is not to be found so idle a set of Rascals.—In short, it appears to me, that to make even a chicken coop, would employ all of them a week;—buildings that are run up here in two or three days (with not more hands) employ them a month, or more.—

I will cause enquiry to be made here, into the price of Oznabrigs, but have little expectation that it can be bought on better terms in this City, than in Alexandria—for every thing is amazingly dear here.—

By the Trial, Capt[n] Hand (I believe the Masters name is) I have shipped three bushels of Clover seed;—two bushels of honey locust seed; and a keg of scaley bark hiccory nuts;—the two last are in one Cask:—the high price of clover seed prevented me from sending more;—what goes, is fresh and good.—Tell the Gardener he must plant the hiccory nuts in drills;—as the Illinois nuts herewith sent, must also be:—and they may be put near together in the drills, as they will be to be transplanted when they get to a proper size.—

Have your ground for the honey locust seed in readiness against the arrival of the Vessel, which will leave this, it is said, tomorrow;—or as soon [as] the flōting Ice in the river will permit her to go down.—The sooner the locust seeds are in the ground the better.—I do not care where you put them,

---

[1] Wm. Aug. Washington, of Westmoreland.

so they are under a secure fence; at the Mansion house, or at any of the farms where they will be attended to, will be equally convenient, and agreeable to me.—

I am Your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

LIX.

Philadelphia March 1st 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

I have to acknowledge the rec^{t} of your letter of the 22^{d} ult^{o}, and shall give you my sentiments upon the several matters required.—

With respect to the fishery, I am of opinion, that, selling them *all* to one man, is best:—and that if Mr. Smith will give five shillings p^{r} thousand for herrings, and twelve shillg^{s} a hundred for the shad, and will oblige himself to take all you have to spare, that you had better strike, and enter into a written agreement with him.—By which agreement, he must be *bound* to receive or pay for, *all* you do not want for my own use, and to fill the 100 bar^{ls} you are getting made;—for you will recollect, that both these species of fish run in what are called gluts; at which time if he is not prepared for their reception, and *compelled* to take them, I shall loose the market; and fishing thereby will become rather a loss than benefit;—as, without this, he being the *only* purchaser, you would only draw the Sein as he could (conveniently) cure the fish by w^{ch} means, when the fish are moving up in a body and when ten for one (at another time) might be caught, he might not receive them; and, of course, your harvest would be lost.—Having an hundred barrels of your own, will, in some measure secure you against the extent of this evil; but it ought, nevertheless, to be guarded against.—Another thing is to be understood between you, and that is, that he is not to interfere with the house where your fish and salt will

be.—I never chose to sell to Waggoners;—there horses have always been found troublesome, and themselves indeed not less so, being much addicted to the pulling down and burning the fences.—If you do not sell to Smith, the next best thing is to sell to the Watermen.—

I do not know for what purpose an order of Court is to be obtained (by Mr. Washington[1]) for the purpose of surveying the land which he, for himself, or others, hold on four mile run.—If all the parties concerned agree to survey, and make their boundaries, it may be done without the interference of the Court.—If they do not (as there is no suit pending) I should not like to have any line marked that is to establish my boundary without being present myself, to see that I had justice done me.—As far as I am able, at the present moment, and under probable events, to form an opinion I expect to be at Mount Vernon about the 15th or 20th of April.—If therefore the parties interested, will endeavor to accomodate matters to that time, I will endeavor to be present at the Survey of the Lands adjoining to mine.—It is to be observed however, that public business will not put it so much in my power to accomodate myself to their convenience, as it may be in their power to yield to mine; which obliges me to speak more in general terms of being at Mount Vernon—than definitely.[2]—

I agree to your taking up the young Cedars along the Creek side, and transplanting them in the lane you propose; and am glad to find you have managed the Cedar berries in the manner you have mentioned; they certainly will make a good hedge; and are a tree of quick growth.—

I agree also, and indeed strongly recommend, your break-

---

[1] Lund Washington.

[2] The Jay Treaty despatched from England on 20 Nov. 1794, did not reach the United States till 7 March 1795. Congress was to adjourn on March 4, and it was supposed the Treaty would have to lie over 90 days. Congress was convened, however, on June 8.

ing up the lucern lot by the Spring; and wish that it may be extremely well plowed, harrowed and prepared for lucern and clover seed mixed; the former of which (if any fresh and good can be had) I will send from hence.—

Oznabrigs also shall be sent from hence:—but do not let the work stop for want;—for I do not suppose it is to be purchased upon much, if any better terms here, than in Alexandria. Do you not mean to spin, for linnen, the flax that has been raised on the Estate the two last years?—

You may inform Mr. Bayley, when occasion offers, that It is not certain *now*, that the same price for which I offered the small piece of land I hold on Difficult run,[1] would tempt me to part with it; since I find by enquiry, that lands of worse quality, and not more convenient to the federal City, on the Maryland side of the Potomack, are selling from twenty to 30 dollars p^{r} Acre without any extra: advantage to recommend them, whereas mine has a *good* Mill seat on the Main run of Difficult; and, in my opinion, a still better one on what is called the Bridge branch thereof; and a considerable—[remainder of letter missing].

LX.

Philadelphia 8th March 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

I am sorry to find by your letter of the 1st of this inst^{t} enclosing the weekly reports—that the Wheat on the ground is in so unpromising away.—Another short crop of this article will fall very heavy upon me.—How does the Barley look?—It was not my intention to use the Rollers until the frosts were over, and the ground was settled.—

If the absconding of French's Paul did not proceed from a quarrel with, or threats from, his Overseer, it will be found,

[1] On the Va. side of the Potomac Falls, into which it empties. Pearce Bayley was Collector of Truro Parish.

I expect, that he has been guilty of some piece of roguery; of the discovery of which he was affraid:—pains therefore ought to be taken to apprehend and bring him to punishment.—

What sort of lameness is Dicks (at D. Run); that he should have been confined with it for so many weeks?—and what kind of sickness is Betty Davis's, that it should have had a similar effect upon her?—If pretended ailments, without apparent causes, or visible effects, will screen her from work, I shall get no service at all from her;—for a more lazy, deceitful and impudent huzzy, is not to be found in the United States than she is.—

Is it Sarah that was among the Spinners at the Mansion house that is now in child-bed?—If so, she seems to have begun in time.—

I have bought about 1000 yards of Oznabrigs (German) for cloathing of my people at Mount Vernon; but there is no conveyance for it at present.—It shall be sent by the first vessel *direct* to Alexandria; but you must not delay this work on acc^{t} of the non-arrival thereof.—

I have made considerable enquiry after lucern seed, but do not find, as yet, that I have any certainty of getting that which is good.—You had better therefore see if any, on the goodness of which reliance is to be placed, can be had in Alexandria. My enquiries shall not cease on that account.

How does your New Overseer at Mansion house and at Union farm conduct themselves?—Is Allison sober, industrious and attentive?—Is he not too much on a level with those he overlooks, and of course too familiar with them?—Or does he keep them at a proper distance, remain always with them, and turn the labour of those hands who come to his aid, to the best advantage?—To do this is a matter of considerable importance;—otherwise the labour which will be lost at the respective farms, will not be gained at the Mansion house.—

I wish you well and am Y^{r} friend

G^{o} Washington.

P.S.

What price does flour bear in Alexand[a] now?—Superfine has again got up to ten dollars in this City and fine flour to 72/ p[r] barr[l].

LXI.

Philadelphia March 15[th] 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

I have received your letter of the 8[th] ins[t] with the reports of the preceding week.—

By the Sloop Harmony, Capt[n] Ellwood, who talked of Sailing to-day, I send you as p[r] Bill of lading enclosed, a bale of Oznabrigs consisting of ten pieces, amounting to 972½ yards.—The Box, and band box, therein mentioned, are for Mrs. Fanny Washiugton as marked; and is to remain with Col[o] Gilpin 'till she calls for them;—Besides these, and since the Bill of lading was signed, I have put on board another small box, containing seeds &c[t] of various kinds; some of them rare, and valuable.—Enclosed is a list of them for your own information and government.—There is besides, on each parcel, a label descriptive thereof for the Gardener.—All these seeds, except the different sorts of Turnips;—the Chiccory;—and Botany bay grass-seeds, may be given to the Gardener; with very particular directions to use his utmost skill and care to raise plants from them;—and that one thing may not be put here, and another there, and never thought of, or attended to afterwards (which has been too often the case with many curious and valuable seeds—stones—and nuts which I have sent to Mount Vernon) I desire he will prepare a piece of ground *well* for them; and place them altogether, either in the Vineyard, or elsewhere, as he may think best, when he comes to examine the different papers;—taking especially care to distinguish by labels (that will not be injured by weather, for it seems

some of the Seeds may not come up the first year) the particular spots where each sort is sown, or planted.—And as all will be to be transplanted, and the seeds besides, (being imported), may not be good, he need not regard crowding them a little in the first instance.—Let him have also as much of each kind of the Turnip seed, and Turnip rooted Cabbage, as he can spare ground to put them in.—the rest, with the Chiccory and Botany bay grass seeds, I shall commit to your care, as there is enough of the former, that is of the different kinds of Turnips, if good, to sow a good deal of ground;—but to prevent any waste of gr^{d}, or misapplication of labour in preparing it for seed that may not come up, prove all that will admit of it, in time, to see if it will vegitate: for if the seed is old, or has been injured by crossing the seas, and will not come up, preparing ground for it would be lost labor and improper.—This trial may readily be made in time, of all the different sorts of Turnips, Cabbage, and possibly of the Chiccory and Botany bay grass seeds.—If the latter will come up I recommend the greatest attention to it.—The other, that is the Chiccory, is what I wrote to you some time ago to save all the seed you could from that grow^{g} on my estate.

I have not been able to get any Lucern seed in this City; I wrote on Friday last to New York for five pounds of it;—if I succeed there, it shall be sent by Post:—in the mean time, let the ground intended for it, be got in the *very best* order; and the natural grass and weeds totally eradicated therefrom; that they may not spring up and choke the lucern as was the case when sowed before.—

Let Sam supply the place of Bristol, until I come home; unless (which does not occur to me at present) a likely and well disposed young fellow of man's growth, or near it, should be found on my estate fit to make a Gardener of.—If one, not among the Dower Negros, could be selected, it would be

prefe̊red.—Honesty, with some degree of acuteness, are desirable; but in whom am^{s} my people these are to be found, I know not.—Sam has sense enough, and has had a little experience, but he wants honesty, and every other requisite; particularly industry.—Cyrus, besides being a Dower slave, is strongly suspected of roguery and drinking;—otherwise he would do very well, as he is likely, young, and smart enough.—The children of Daphne at the river farm are among the best disposed negros I have, but I do not recollect whether there be any of a fit size.—

I have no objection to your complying with the promise you made Mr. Smith, provided his salt is kept distinct from mine; and the latter is guarded from embezzlement.—I again repeat, that when the Schools of fish run, you must draw night and day; and whether he (Smith) is prepared to take them or not, they must be caught and charged to him:—for it is then, and then only—I have a return for my expences;—and then it is, the want of *several* purchasers, is felt; for unless *one* person is extremely well prepared, he cannot dispose of the fish as fast as they can be drawn at those times and if the Sein, or Seins do no more than to keep pace with his convenience, My harvest is lost, and of course my profit; for the herrings will not wait to be caught, as they are wanted to be cured.

If Mrs. Fanny Washington does not draw a Sein at her own landing, herself, or rent it with a reservation of fish for her own use, let her get what she wants for this purpose, at my landing;—and at any rate, when you have occasion to send to Alexandria, always send some for her Table.—And tell Doct^{r} Stuart if you sh^{d} see him, or send him word if you should not, that he may always get fish for the latter purpose, by sending for them—so may Mr. Lund Washington.—

Do you receive Rent from Gray or make him account for it when you pay for the weaving he does for me?—

Presuming you saved all the seed you could from the India

hemp, let it be carefully sown again, for the purpose of getting into a full stock of seed.—

I wish you well and am

Your friend

G° Washington.

P.S.

Among other things sent by Capt^{n} Ellwood, is a small paper bundle of Pair graffs of an extraordinary fine kind w^{ch} desire the Gardener to be particular attentive to.

LXII.

Philadelphia 22^{d} March 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 15th and the reports of the preceding week, have come duly to hand.—

I am glad to hear that your new Overseers turn out so well.—Of Groves I had not the least knowledge;—my fear of Allison was, that he would be too familiar with those he overlooked, and of course would carry no authority.—If he avoids this error, and is sober, honest, industrious, and stays at home and with his people, when at work, it is all that can be required of him; for I never meant to entrust anything to him that did not pass under your directions.—

I received twenty pounds of Lucern seed from New York, as a present from a gentleman there of my acquaintance;—on the goodness of which entire dependence may be placed.—Five pounds of which shall accompany this letter, that the lot for which it is intended, may be more plentifully sown with *this* seed than I at first designed, under the bad prospect I then had of obtaining *any* at all of it.—Not knowing how much ground the lot contains, I am unable to direct the quantity of seed which it ought to receive;—but I would have you allow at the rate of eight pounds of lucern, and the like quantity of clover mixed, to the Acre.—And as I know that

ground was extremely foul, it has occurred to me to ask you (who can judge better on the spot than I can at a distance) whether it might not be advisable to delay sowing it until August;—plowing it in the meantime as often as it shall appear to require.—If it is not already sown, and you should prefer August (for the reason I have assigned) to the present time this work may be delayed.—All grasses ought to be sown on *clean* and well prepared ground, especially those near a dwelling house, w^{ch} attract the eyes of all visitors.—

This observation applies to grain as well as grass;—for which reason, however desirable it might have been, to have got the Oats in the ground soon, I had rather hear it was delayed than that it should be sown before every thing was in perfect order for it; for it is a *fixed* principle with me, that whatever *is done* should be *well done.* Unless this maxim is attended to, our labor is but in vain, and our expectation of a return, is always deceptious; whilst we are ascribing our disappointments to any thing rather than the true cause, namly not laying (by proper preparations) a good foundation, on which to build our hopes.—

I observe what you say of Betty Davis &c^{t}—but I never found so much difficulty as you seem to apprehend, in distinguishing between *real* and *feigned* sickness;—or when a person is *much* afflicted with pain.—Nobody can be very sick without having a fever, nor will a fever or any other disorder continue long upon any one without reducing them:—Pain also, if it be such as to yield entirely to its force, week after week, will appear by its effects; but my people (many of them) will lay up a month, at the end of which no visible change in their countenance, nor the loss of an oz of flesh, is discoverable; and their allowance of provision is going on as if nothing ailed them.—There cannot, surely, be any *real* sickness under such circumstances as I have described; nor ought such people to be improperly endulged.—It should be made one of the *primary* duties of every Overseer to attend

closely, and particularly to those under his care who really are, or pretend to be, sick; to see that the first receive aid and comfort in time, and before it is too late to apply them; and that the others do not impose upon him. In the first case you ought to be immediately notified, as delay is often dangerous; and in the second, where the matter is at all doubtful, you ought to be the judge, for I am as unwilling to have any person, in my service, forced to work when they are unable, as I am to have them skulk from it, when they are fit for it.—

It is highly probable Paul has left the parts (by water or land)—If Mr. Dulany is disposed to pursue any measure for the purpose of recovering *his* man, I will join him in the expence so far as it may respect Paul;—but I would not have my name appear in any advertisement, or other measure, leading to it.—

Tell the Gardener, when he dresses the Artichokes, to put up a number of the slips, securely, for a Gentleman of my acquaintance; and let them be sent by the first vessel afterwards, to this City.—

I am Your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

LXIII.

Philadelphia 29th March 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

I have received your letter of the 22^{d} ins^{t} with its enclosures.—

Had Mr. Pierce Bailey accepted the terms on which I offered him my land on difficult run, without proposing an abatement of interest, after I had declared I never would lower them, the bargain would have been concluded on my part.—As he did not, but is still attempting to make other terms, I shall suspend saying any thing further on the sub-

ject until I come to Virginia; which, if nothing unforeseen at present, intervenes, will be by the 20th of April, as my intention is to commence my journey for Mount Vernon on the 13th, or at farthest, the 14th of that month.—I shall be better able to decide then, than now, what will be best for me to do in this matter.—Land situated as that of mine is on Difficult, with the advantages attending it, is in no danger of falling in price, when all the circumjacent lands are rising most rapidly in theirs, by the coming of all the world as it were to this country for the purpose of buying lands.

I hear with concern, of the injury of the New Meadow at Dogue-run has sustained.—I had great expectation from it (knowing, as I do, the goodness of the Soil)—If you have Seed, let the parts which have been covered,—and all others that are too thin, be re-sown; and a light harrow, or roller, run over, to bury the seed.—If the water (in freshes) has not sufficient vent at the bridge, would it not be proper to widen the passage at that place?—It is a pity to subject so valuable a meadow as that might be made, to such disasters, where the remedy is at hand, and not difficult.—

The weather since thursday has been worse than at any period through the winter:—what effect it has had, or may have on the growing grain;—the grass;—and the fields which are to be sown and planted; you, much better than I, can decide.—You may continue to write me as usual, informing me of these things; for the letters that do not come here before I set out, I shall find on the Road, at one or other of the Post Offices.—

If Moses at the Mill is of sufficient skill for the purposes of the Garden, I see no material objection to his being placed there—indeed with so little Merchant work as is done at my Mill, I never saw much occasion for *him* at the place.—for the Miller *knows*, that by his agreement, he *ought* to be Coopering himself, when he is not employed in the Mill;—and he

certainly knows too, that the Mill does not require half his time:—in the summer, scarcely any of it.—Hard therefore would it be, if Jack and Tom, with such occasional aid as himself and Ben could afford, is not sufficient to keep the Mill in Barrels.—

I did not expect Gray's rent w^d^ otherwise be received than as a credit to his weaving acc^t^—If this is done, 'tis sufficient.—

I perceive Isaac is still employed in making Ploughs, whilst Donaldson is working at the Carpenters trade.—The principal advantage I expected to derive from the latter, was the character he had of being skilled in making of these, and other impliments of husbandry; and the insight the former would get by attending him in this work.—

I send the Gardener a small paper of Pease, of which desire him to make the most seed he can, as they were given to me for a very valuable sort.—

An English Gentleman, of family and fortune, of the name of Strickland, from whom I received the Turnip and many other seeds which were forwarded by the last Vessel from this place, will, I expect, be at Mount Vernon before I shall.—If this should hapen, (and he will have a line from me to you) I request you to treat him withall the attention and civility in your power.—He is a plain man in his dress and manners, and being a farmer, may wish to go over my farms, if this should be the case, I request you to ride with him over them.[1]—As I expect you have (according to my former request) got some red wine, let him have of this, and some of that kind of Madeira which was left out by Mrs. Fanny Washington.—

---

[1] Mr. William Strickland brought Washington his diploma as Honorary Member of the English Board of Agriculture, concerning which Washington wrote the interesting letter to Landon Carter, published in Appendix L. Concerning Strickland, Washington wrote to Sir John Sinclair, "Nothing has, I believe, escaped his observation that meritted attention." For a letter to Strickland see Sparks, xii. p. 329.

Whether you have Porter in the house, or not, I am unable to say; but I desire it may be there, as well for him, as against I come home.—

I wish you well, and am

Your friend

G° Washington.

LXIV.

Philadelphia 5th April 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

I perceive by your last report—enclosed in your letter of the 29th ult°—that Carter Ben,[1] at River farm, has been laid up many weeks; with a person to attend him, the whole time.—What is the nature of his complaint?—When these extraordinary cases happen, let the report respecting them, say what the cause is;—without which, and at this distance from the scene, it is not easy for me to conjecture even what the matter is.—

Whether would it be best to let the lot at Mansion house (intended for Lucern) remain a *naked fallow*, stirring the ground now and then until seeding time, or plant it early with Potatoes (which may be taken off by, or early in August)?—The last, *well* manured, would be productive; and *well* cultivated, would prepare the ground for the Lucern which is to follow.—I leave it to you to do the one, or the other, as from circumstances shall appear best.—If the Potatoe plan is preferred, let part (and not the best part, but every other row for instance) be planted with the shoots, as directed in the Pamphlet I gave you the reading of last year; and which I believe was, tho' not effectually, by the Gardener, tried last year.—I have promised to make the experiment *accurately*, and wish you to attend to it accordingly; either on the ground just ment[d] or some other.

[1] So called from having been purchased or hired from one of the Carter family: *e.g.*, French Paul, etc.

I am sorry for the impediments you have met with from the weather, in sowing your Oats;—but over this there is no controul; and nothing for us remains but submission.—I have only to repeat on this head, that I had rather encounter delay, than not sow when the ground is in prime order for it.—

As all danger from frost must now be over, your winter grain will have assumed its spring appearance (since vegitation is advancing rapidly, also)—and what is the appearance of your different fields? Do not neglect the Roller, if you can apply it to any advantage;—and this I am sure it will, not only to the grain (the roots of which have been thrown out of the ground) but to grass also; especially clover, if you are in condition to use it.

You know how much a friend I am, to cutting small grain before it is suffered to get too ripe.—The enclosed advertisement carries the matter farther than I sh[d] incline to risque a *quantity;* but the ascertainment of so important a fact is well worth risking an acre or two, and it is my wish that it should be done;—at the same time that I would have the *whole* harvest begun at an earlier period than is usual, with most farmers.

I hope the Honey locust seed are in the ground; that they may vegitate and get above ground before the weather may become hot and dry.—

I had no other objection to the advertising of Paul than that of having my name appear therein;—at least in any papers North of Virginia: and that he has not gone South of it, is natural to infer, if he was governed by motives of policy, or by advice.—

I still expect to be with you about the time mentioned in my last, and therefore shall only add that

I am—Your friend &c[t]

G[o] Washington.

LXV.

Philadelphia 12th April 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 5th, with its enclosures, I received yesterday.—

I propose to commence my journey for Mount Vernon tomorrow—but as the road through Maryland, by information, is almost impassible, and business will detain me a day or two at the federal city, I do not expect to reach home before sunday (this day week).—

This being the case, my letter will be short; I shall add however, that I was, as you supposed, under a mistake with respect to the meadow which has been injured by the freshes.—Be this however as it may, the injured parts should be resown; and as soon as the ground is in order for it, if you have seed to do it; which is the reason of my mentioning it now, to avoid delay.—If that, or the other meadows, was once well taken with Timothy, floods would not wash of [f] the soil, nor in other respects be injurious.

I am Yr friend

Go Washington.

Monday morning—13th April.—The day is storming I shall wait therefore until it ceases before I set out.

LXVI.

Philadelphia 4th May 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

I arrived in this city on Saturday at noon—about which time I recd your letter of the 29th ultº.

It gives me pleasure to hear that your grain and grass have benefitted by the late rains.—As both are liable to great changes from the viscissitudes of weather, mention every

week what the then appearance of the fields and meadows are; particular whether any grain is to be expected from the injured parts of the Wheat fields—especially from those in N° 5 at Union farm—and whether the new sown grass in the Mill Meadow is coming on well.—

Let the flour in the Mill be inspected; and all that will not, or with difficulty, pass inspection, be disposed of for the most you can get;—I was going to add—keep that that is good, until you could hear further from me—but as the quantity at *any rate* will be small, you may as well let the *whole* go, and deposit the money in the Bank of Alex.—If no danger was to be apprehended from keeping it on hand, I believe from the scarcity in Europe, and great demand for this article, one might command their own price.

I am—Your friend

G° Washington.

P. S.

I expected the fishery was nearly over when I left Mt. Vernon.—I intended, but forgot when I was at Mount Vernon, to measure the size of the picture frames in the parlour; which contains my picture—Mrs. Washingtons—and the two child[n] [1]—I wish you to do it, and send me the account in your next letter.—Measure the frames (I believe they are all of a size) from out to out;—and then on the inside, where they show the Canvas, or picture.—

LXVII.

Philadelphia 10th May 1795.

Your letter of the 3[d] inst[t], with the Reports of the preceeding week, was received yesterday; and I am glad to find by it that the Wheat and grass continues to mend—I hope the warm days we have had, and the showers of rain (if they

[1] Eleanor and G. W. P. Custis.

have extended to you) have also brought on the Oats.—It is high time they were advancing, if much is to be expected from them.—

Considering the quality of my flour this year, and the smalness of the quantity, I am very well satisfied that you have got it off your hands at the prices it sold; altho' flour at this market is at 12 dollars a barrel and rising.—In short, the scarcity of this article in Europe, and demand for it;—added, to the failure of the last wheat crop in this Country will enable the holders to get any price they please.—Let me know the quantity of Midlings and Ship-stuff you disposed of.—And tell Davenport to make out, and to have sent to me, the Mill acc^{t} for last year, that I may see what Wheat has gone into, and what flour has come out of, the Mill.—I have no reason to suspect that Davenport is otherwise than an honest man; but regular and fair acc^{ts} should be stated, and rendered by all Men.—In doing this with him, the Overseers acc^{ts} of the Wheat sent to, and his of what is received in the Mill, should agree;—so likewise ought his charges of the flour, Bran &c^{t} sent to Mansion house, the Overseers, &c^{t} to agree with what is reported and credited.—This being done, and added to the different kinds of flour that are sold, and the shorts and Bran used, will (accounting also for the Toll Wheat) show the state of the Manufacturing business—which is not only satisfactory, but absolutely necessary;—for I strongly suspect, notwithstanding it would appear by the experim^{ts} which have been made of an hundred bushels that the balance is in favor of flour,—that the case is otherwise on the aggregate quantity which is ground.—That it is so this year, can admit of no doubt;—it would be inconceivable otherwise that the [torn] of my last years crop of Wheat, and [torn] that of the year before, should yield only [torn] barr^{ls} of flour, besides what was consumed in the family.—

If the boy at the Mill is to go into the Garden, at Mansion house, the sooner it happens the better;—and I really (con-

sidering the little work my Mill does) see no reason why he should not.—I am sorry to find by your last reports that there has been two deaths in the family since I left Mount Vernon;—and one of them a young fellow.—I hope every necessary care and attention was afforded him.—I expect little of this from M^{c}Koy,—or indeed from most of his class; for they seem to consider a Negro much in the same light as they do the brute beasts, on the farms; and often times treat them as inhumanly.[1]—

If I recollect rightly, it appears in some of the weekly reports, that Posts and rails were getting at Dogue-run to inclose the Barn yard at that place.—I forgot when I was at home, and on the spot with you, to fix on the manner of doing it.—I once pointed out my plans [?] to Green and Davis, and I think to M^{c}Koy, but little attention seems to have been paid to these things afterwards by either of them.—To the best of my recollection, it was intended to run, from each end of the sheds, a Post and rail to the railing leading into the Barn, or treading floor of it, for the stable yard;—on one side of which to have a gate, through which to pass into the yard which incloses the Barn on the other sides and into N^{o} 5 also;—then back of the two sheds at sufficient distances therefrom allowing full room to receive the litter, dung, &c^{t} from the Stables, to run Post and Rail fences from the lane South of the Barn, to the fence of N^{o} 5, which is back of the lots.—

---

[1] Rev. Dr. McGuire, for many years rector of St. George's Church, Fredericksburg, who married a daughter of Robert Lewis, Washington's nephew, relates: "Returning to his house one day, from a ride over his farm, he [Washington] found his overseer in the act of chastising severely one of his servants. Indignant at the sight as being in the mode or degree contrary to his orders, he dismounted hastily, and advancing towards the overseer with his horsewhip in his hand, the affrighted man retired towards the fence, exclaiming, 'Remember your character, General, remember your character!' The General immediately stopped, and reprimanding him for disobeying his commands, admonished him to beware of again correcting his people in a manner so cruel."—*The Religious Opinions and Character of Washington*, Ed. 1836, p. 400.

Fences run straight, in the manner here described, and at sufficient distances from the back parts of the sheds or stables, would afford ample room for the grain in stacks;—and I believe it would be sufficiently capacious also for cow yards, but it would have a bad exposure; and besides, is in low ground; therefore a yard, or yards for this purpose (cattle and Sheep) might adjoin (one on each side the Stable yard) the Lane between N° 3 and the lots—and the Stable yard fences; as will appear more distinctly in the sketch enclosed.

The number of Bricks which will be required for the Barn in the Neck (River farm) will fall very little short of 140,000 of those that are sound and good, as you will see by the calculation herewith.—And that no other than hard [torn] bricks may be put into the Walls, letting it as soon as it is burnt, and cool, be immediately taken down and the—[remainder of letter missing].

LXVIII.

Philadelphia 24th May 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

I have duly received your letter, and the reports of the 17th instant.—

The enclosed sketches, will give my ideas so fully, of the Barn, proposed to be built at River farm, as to leave me scarcely anything to add to it.—If 2 Inch (white oak) plank, is thought sufficient for the threshing floor of the Barn, I do not want it to be got any thicker;—and if Inch and quarter (Pine) plank, is thick enough for the lower floor of the granaries, I do not wish it to be more.—Inch Plank is fully adequate to the floors over them, to support the grain in the straw.—

I mention these things now, that the Oak plank may be sawed as soon as you are able to do it, that there may be time for it to season; and that the Pine plank may be got with-

out delay, not only for the same purpose, but for security of the Bricks also, before they are burned.—Of the oak plank, it will require for the threshing floor, 30 feet square, 900 feet when laid;—allowance for waste must be made.—For the lower floor of the graineries, the like quantity of 1¼ (if that is the thickness resolved on) with the like allowance for waste, will be required.—And for the upper floor of the graineries precisely the same;—But as the pine plank will waste more than the oak;—is more liable to be stolen—and besides will sustain injury in the Brick yard; and moreover may be wanting for a variety of uses in the building;—you had better lay in 1500 or two thousand feet of each sort, at once.—And I would have you enquire of those (who deal in that way) on what terms they would deliver at one of my landings, shingles of the following dimensions—viz—3 feet,—2 feet,—and 18 Inches; specifying the width, and thickness of each, they will warrant them to average.—When you furnish me with this account I shall be better able to decide on the kind of covering to bestow on the building, and the sort, and number of nails it will require.—Of the last, I find they can be had in this city on better terms than in Alexandria; and of course will be sent from hence.—

The body of the Barn (as you always understood, independant of the sheds) is to be 60 feet long, and 30 feet wide.—I have allowed 12 feet sheds only, which I conceive is sufficient, as the Racks and Mangers will be close to the wall (and not as those are at Union farm)—and in case I should not think of it at the time they are about, let the latter be dug out of the solid wood.—Such will last as long as the wood itself does, whilst those made of plank, however thick, are soon coming a sunder;—wasting the grain;—and requiring repairs.—

What sort of Clay is found where you are making bricks?—Desire Mr. Stuart to keep a regular acc^{t} of the number that are made—or (as has been the case before) hundreds will be

magnified into thousands;—and deception follow of course.—It is highly necessary too, that he should have an eye to the tempering, and beating the clay well before it is moulded;—for on this the goodness of the bricks depend;—especially as it was not exposed to the frosts of last winter.—

I think as you do, that the *Oak* plank, and *all* the scantling, ought to be got off my own land;—but this is not to with hold the Carpenters, or any others, from the Harvest field, when their services are required there.—In time, be laying shells in, or you will meet with disappointment.—Did you ever enquire particularly into the character of the carpenter who built Mrs. Peak's Barn?—If so, what was the result?

I find I was mistaken, respecting Posts and Rails for the farm yard at Dogue-run.—The sketch of one—sent you in a former letter, may be preserved notwithstanding—it will serve when they are provided.—

If you have transplanted any of the Honey locust plants (in the manner before directed) and find they succeed, continue the practice as long as the season will allow it.—I send a book for your perusal between this and my next visit to Mount Vernon, which contains many useful experiments, and observations on Hedging &c^{t}.—At that time it may be returned to me after information is got from it. (This book is written by a man of established character—of course, except what may proceed from difference of climate is to be depended upon—and followed by us.)—

A bundle of Pekan, or Illinois nuts is also sent; which desire the gardener to plant along with those I sent him some time ago.—These are fresh, and I have no doubt will come up.—Enclosed likewise, is the copy of a list of Plants which were sent by a Gentlemen of Jamaica to Norfolk, for me.—If they should have been forwarded to Mount Vernon desire Elher to pay particular attention to them.—

Let Doct^{r} Craik, if he has not already done it, examine the case of Cooper Jack and prescribe the needful for him.—No

report of Carpenters work was among the enclosures of your last letter.—I am

Your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

LXIX.

Philadelphia 31st May 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

I am quite surprized to find by your letter of the 24th instant (which with the Reports came duly to hand) that your crops had stood in need of Rain.—There has been no three days together without it, at this place, since I arrived here; and some times for whole days and nights, with little or no intermission.—

The exhausted state of Provisions (bread) in Europe;—the demand for flour there;—and the bad prospect for grain where most of it was usually grown, leaves not a doubt but that every thing of the bread kind, or substitutes for it, will bear a high price in autumn.—Some time ago I recommended it to you to plant a good many Potatoes—this I repeat, and wish also that you w^{d} lay yourself out for more Buck wheat than usual for a crop.—I have heard much of the white (homony) Bean as being very productive, and a ready sale:—suppose you were to devote an acre of Corn ground to this purpose, to see what the yield would be:—or, if they would do without something to run upon, and support them, to plant an acre or two without Corn, in N^{o} 6 at Union farm; by the side of the Corn you cultivate in that field.—

Cut the forward Wheat in good season, and save all for Seed.—Doct^{r} Stuart thinks it more subject to weavil than the common wheat;—If so, you will judge whether it can best be preserved from them in stacks or otherwise, and do with it as shall seem best to you.—

How does the honey locust stand transplanting?—If well, follow it up as long as the season will answer.—

The Gardener does not, I perceive, take any notice of the boy in his report.—this he ought to do.

Has no remedy been discovered for the disorder in horses? —If I should loose my Plough horses—or even have them rendered unfit for work, it will be unfortunate.—

I am Your friend and well wisher

G° Washington.

LXX.

Philadelphia 7th June 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 31st of last month, enclosing the weekly reports, came duly to hand—yesterday.—

Let the person who is to supply you with plank and Shingles, have the precise length of the first given to him, that it may not waste in cutting.—This length you will be able to ascertain from knowing the uses for which it is intended; and by consulting the plan which I sent you.—The plank for the lower floor of the Grañeries, as I mentioned at first, ought, I have no doubt, to be of Inch and half stuff; and if the floors above them, were of Inch and quarter pine, they would not be the worse for it.—Care too shd be taken that the shingles are of the dimensions (both in length, and the average width) that is agreed for;—nothing being more common of late than to contract for 18 inch shingles, and give those of not more than 16 inches,—and in that proportion with respect to the two, and three feet shingles:—which is an unjustifiable imposition, as more nails, as well as more shingles, are consequently required.—

Are the Cabbins at River and Union farms all removed, as were intended?—I ask because I have seen work of this sort reported, but know not if it be compleated.—

I wish you could find out the thief who robbed the Meat house at Mount Vernon, and bring him to punishment.—And

at the same time secure the house against future attempts;—for our drafts upon it will be pretty large, I expect, when we come home;—w^ch probably may be about the middle or 20^th of next month.—Nathan has been suspected, if not detected, in an attempt of this sort formerly; and is as likely as any one to be guilty of it now.—Postilion Joe has been caught in similar practices;—and Sam, I am sure would not be restrain[ed] by any qualms of conscience, if he saw an opening to do the like.—

I am Your friend &c^t

G^o Washington.

LXXI.

Philadelphia 14^th June 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 7^th instant, and the Weekly reports, were received yesterday.—On Wednesday night, thursday, and part of friday, we had a great deal of rain in this city, and as it appeared to be general, I hope you partook of it.—If the Corn is not destroyed by the insect you complain of, I do not despair (on account of its backwardness) of making a good crop, yet.—It is in the months of July and August that this crop is to be made, or marred, by seasonable, or unseasonable weather.—

It is fortunate that the distemper among the horses have ceased that you may keep it clean and in order for Wh^t—it would have been a heavy stroke, if they had been rendered unfit for use at this busy season of the year, even if they had not died with it.—

Are you selling Hay in Alexandria, that for several weeks passed I perceive the Waggon has been employed in transporting it thither?—If so, what do you get for it?—and how much will you, or have you, disposed of.—

Let Mr. Halley know that I am not inclined to reduce my

lot in Alexandria without first viewing the part he wants for an allay; and comparing the advantages, and disadvantages together;—then, if no inconvenience will result to me, and the price to be given, is adequate to the *real* value, according to a judgment from circumstances; I may, though I do not chuse to be under any engagement, suffer ten feet to be taken off for the purpose designated in your letter—viz—an allay.—

Enclosed I send you a Newspaper containing some ideas on the culture of Potatoes;—on the different kinds;—and on the manner of Making them into bread.—It comes from the best board of Agriculture in England, and may be worth attending to.

I am your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

P. S.

By the last Post, I received the enclosed letter from James Butler; I wish you to let him know (and as soon as you conveniently can, that he may be under no mistake in the case) that he must look to those who placed him where he is—(if they think him qualified for the Office—) for his money; not a copper will he receive immediately from me.—I allow £50 p^{r} annum to the Academy in Alexandria for the purpose of instructing the children of poor persons who are unable to be at that expence themselves; but I have nothing to do with providing, or paying the Master who is employed for that purpose.—This is left to the Trustees of the School, and I wish it may be found that my donation is as benificially applied as my intention in bestowing of it, has been good.—Whether the Rev^{d} Mr. Muir (to whom the money has usually been paid) has any *particular* agency in the business, or not, I am unable to say; but wish you to shew him Butlers letter on this subject and let me know what he says to the application.—

Yours

G. W——.

LXXII.

Philadelphia 21st June 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 14th instant with the Reports were received yesterday.—

I am sorry the rain you were wishing for, should have come attended with the disasters your letter represents;—but to these it is our duty to submit.—I never repine at acts of Providence, because I always suppose, however adverse they may be to our wishes, they are always for the best.[1]—Let the place of the young mule, that was killed, be supplied in the best manner the stock of them will afford.—

I hope the shells you engaged were of what they call live shells.—Those from the bank, if not well cleansed, are so mixed with dirt as to make very weak lime.—As to the price, I do not expect to get them for less than others give.—Of course they must be landed at the Mansion house on acct of burning them (to the best advantage, and with the least waste) in the Kiln made for this purpose.—

I think it would be proper to fill in, between the logs of the Cabbins, as soon, and as fast as circumstances will admit; that the clay may get dry before cool weather approaches.—Damp walls, are very apt to give Rheumatic complaints.—This filling may be done as well before, as after the Cabbins are covered.—

I hope your crop of Wheat, as the prospect when you wrote was tolerable, and the almost certainty of the high prices continuing, will meet with no diminution *now* from either the scab or rust.—If it had shed its blossom before the heavy rain, and was free from the Scab at the date of your letter, I think that it wod. receive no injury from it afterwards;—and

---

[1] Appendix G.

as the rain and thick weather was attended by wind, and was also cool, I hope it is free from the Rust likewise.—

Whenever you have leisure to do it, it would be serviceable by way of stopping the progress of that gully at the mouth of the lane, at Mansion house—and indeed all others—to drive stakes across and wattle them at different distances, to catch and retain the trash that is swept down with the torrent.—They also serve to break the force of the water; and by degrees, with other assistance, fill them up.—The gullies I mean.—Without these obstructions, the descending water from very heavy rains sweep all before it,

I am Your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

LXXIII.

Philadelphia 5th July 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 28th, with the enclosed reports, was duly received.—

I think it very likely that I shall commence my journey for Mount Vernon about the middle of this month—but as business may detain me a few days longer than I expect, I will not speak positively at *this* time.—In my next, I shall, I hope, be able to name the day I shall leave the city.—But let not this prevent your writing as usual, as I shall meet the letter on the road, if it does not arrive here, before I set out.—

If the dormant windows are not put in, on each side of the Pediment, front side of the stable, I could wish (if it does not interfere with the more important work of Donaldson) that it might be set about; it would not only add to the look of the building, but the grain and hay both, would derive benefit from the air it w^{d} receive from those windows;—as would the Stables, if the back dormant windows could be compleated

on the range with those already in, and of the same size, and appearance.

Davy's lost lambs, carry with them a very suspicious appearance;—and it will be to be regretted, if he betakes himself to Rogueries of that sort;—for in that case, nothing will escape, if he can avoid detection; and grain will be less liable to it than animals.—If the lambs has been poisoned, or had died a natural death, or their deaths had been occasioned by any accident, their bones would have been forth coming, and his not being able to produce them, is an argument both of his guilt, and of his not expecting to be called upon for that evidence of the truth of his assertion, and fair dealing.—This circumstance will make it necessary to watch him a little closer.—He has some very sly, cunning and roguish negroes under him; among whom none has a greater disposition to be so, or who he can make a more useful agent of, than Nathan; his mother and father.—

How, when the Manufacturing season is over, or the water is scarce, is Ben at the Mill employed?—Surely the Miller (who ought himself under these circumstances to be employed in Coopering) does not keep him in the Mill merely to save *himself* the trouble of taking off, and pulling on a few bags of grist, in the week.—I have often intended to enquire into this matter; but always, at the time of writing, forgot to do it.—

What is the matter with Ruth and Ben, (not the Ben that cut himself) at River farm, that week after week they are returned sick?—The first of them, Ruth, has been aiming, for sometime, to get herself excused from work.—More than they are able to do in reason, I do not expect;—but I have no idea of their being totally exempted, whilst work proportioned, and adapted to their strength and situation, can be found for them.—The example is bad, and will be too readily (as is the case at present with several more of them) attempted; if, under the plea of pains, &c^{t} &c^{t} they find they can carry their point.—

I am sorry to hear you are indisposed, and that Groves is ill—I hope this letter will find you both recovered.—

I am Your friend and well wisher

G° Washington.

LXXIV.

Charlestown [Va] 9th Aug^{t} 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

The day before I left home, I rode by the field at Dogue-run called Davy's field—and intended to have had some further conversation with you on the subject of a second Wheat field at that place this seeding time; but the suddenness of my departure prevented it.[1]—

[1] The President had left Philadelphia for Mount Vernon on July 15. On July 26 the British Minister revealed to Mr. Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, an intercepted letter of the French Minister, Fauchet, which, apparently, involved the Secretary of State (Edmund Randolph) whose side Washington had taken, in refusing an unconditional signature to the British Treaty—in opposition to the rest of the Cabinet. The opponents of Randolph, without his knowledge of the cause, insisted on summoning Washington to the seat of government. That he should have taken Charlestown *en route* is remarkable, as well as the speed by which alone he could have reached Philadelphia, as he did, on August 11, in time for dinner, to which Randolph was invited. Mr. Cabot Lodge (George Washington, ii. pp. 191, 195) seems to think that Washington was expecting a recall to Philadelphia, and was going on to ratify the Treaty. The tenor of these letters, however, suggests that he did not intend to return, having resolved to await the action of the British government on a protest against the Provision Order which he had instructed Randolph to write. While he knew that the critical negotiations might demand his presence at the capital, that he did not intend to return and ratify the Treaty is shown by an unpublished letter before me, to Major George Lewis (his nephew, at Fredericksburg) dated "Mount Vernon, 27 July, 1795," in which Washington writes: "Unless business should require my presence in Philadelphia sooner (and then I shall go thither alone) it is not likely I shall leave this place until the end of September. If therefore you and Mrs. Lewis, my sister and Harriet; or any of you can make it convenient or agreeable to favor us with a visit, we should be happy in seeing you." For this important bit of evidence on a controverted point I am indebted to R. B. Lewis, Esq., of Washington, a grandson of Major George Lewis.

In looking at the field above mentioned, it did not strike me as sufficient, in addition to N° 5 for a wheaten crop at that farm (if more can be got in, advanced as the Season is) —1st because the quantity of Acres in it is too small;—and 2dly because part of it is very poor, and turning in the grass, in places, would be difficult;—without which attempting it at all, at this late hour, could not be justified upon any true principle of husbandry.—for these reasons, I intended to have told you, that in my opinion, N° 7 ought to be preferred; provided there be a moral certainty of getting it seeded in good time;—and the work well done.—

If you attempt this field, I have been considering further, whether it wd not be better to plow the same way it was laid last; but to make the parting furrow where the ridge now is, —the work, I am confident, will be better executed; and the growth now on it, turned in with more truth; and to do this carefully, is all in all; for if the sward, or one furrow is not turned immediately into the other, and an even face at top, made with the under earth; that kind of husbandry, so strongly recommended on a clover lay and may succeed with other grasses, would be entirely defeated:—good plowing therefore is essential;—and I would have you sow, as fast as you plow; to be well harrowed, but not so as to bring the grass up again; for it is the manure, occasioned by the fermentation and rotting of it, that is to benefit the land, and to produce the Wheat.—

The storms of wind and rain, seems to have been more severe in these parts than with you; notwithstanding, I find seeding has begun on the other side Susquehanna in two or three places.—The roads are miserably torn up, and the Mill dams, bridges, &ct almost universally carried away.

Among other reasons for preferring N° 7 at Dogue-run to what is called Davys field, is, because I see your chance for wheat next year is hurt by the laying down of the Corn—the delay it has necessarily occasioned in sowing—and the con-

sequent grassiness of the fields from that circumstance ; and the inability of keeping them clean with so much rain.—I am satisfied your forward Corn must be first taken from the gr[d] before it can be sown :—This also will be hurtful to the next years wheat—bnt this is to be preferred to any measures which may injure the Corn at this time.—

Do not forget to plow in some of your greenest Buck wheat, and sow wheat thereon immediately, for an experiment;—if this should answer well, it would be proper, always to sow the Buck wheat (intended for manure) at such a period as to sow wheat thereon when it is not more than six or eight inches high, as is done upon a clover lay.—But if this mode is found to succeed, the Buck wheat ought to be sown thick, otherwise it would not afford much improvement to the soil.—

If the money is due for the flour sold let it be collected, and deposited in the Alexandria Bank.—

I am your friend &c[t]

G[o] Washington.

LXXV.

Philadelphia 12[th] Aug[t] 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

I forgot to ask you, what prospect there was of your saving clover seed, sufficient for your next years purposes ?—If it is a good one, there will be no occasion of buying, if it is not, the sooner I am informed thereof, the better.—I hope you will, not only of this kind of seed, but of all others, endeavor to save as much as will answer my own demands, as the purchase of them falls heavy upon me.—

As soon as your ground, and other things are in order for it, I would have your Wheat sowing commence ; and prosecuted with diligence until it is completed, as I have found that early sowing, four times out of five, has succeeded best with me.—If you attempt N[o] 7 at Dogue-run, let it be well

ploughed, and in the manner mentioned in my letter from Charlestown unless reasons which do not occur to me, should render ploughing across the ridges more eligable.—

Give me, in your next letter, after this gets to hand, the length, and breadth of the two pavements between the steps of the middle door—and those of the end doors of the Mansion house.—Measure from the outer line of stone (each way) that encloses the brick tile.

I am Your friend &c^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

LXXVI.

Philadelphia 16th Aug^{t} 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter, begun on the 9th and ended on the 12th ins^{t}, with its several enclosures, came to my hands yesterday.

It is to be regretted that the frequent, and hard rains should have involved you in such difficulties.—But all that can be done in cases that are not to be guarded against, or avoided, is to do the best under them that circumstances will admit.—More ought not to be expected; and I am sure, that more is not desired by me.—I fear, however, that if the forward corn is turned differently than it was by the first storm,—that *all* the roots have given way, and, of course, the plant must suffer—; if not perish:—but of this you can judge better than I.

I am anxious to get my Wheat in the ground as soon as possible, but would not, nevertheless, sow before the ground is in order for it.—It is some consolation to hear that all your Wheat and Oats are in—I wish the Hay was also secured—and as free from damage as possible.—That which is so much sanded, will be fit for little, or nothing, unless some method can be devised of threshing, or beating the sand of(f), before it is fed.—

As Donaldson is going away, I think it best to decide,

at once, to take the Carpenter recommended by my nephew Col° W^m^ Washington; although his allowances are high—particularly in Corn—for I cannot conceive how he is to consume 15 barrels of Corn in addition to the flour.—However, you will want a man to carry on my Carpentering business; and if from his appearance, and talking to him, you think he will answer, engage him positively, and firmly.—If he is competent to do Mill-work—Wheel-work—and is a tolerable plain Joiner, he will be very useful; as my buildings are going very much to decay.—He may have the house and garden that Donaldson occupies, as his year will have expired before the first of November.—Donaldson therefore must be taken at his word, as there is no other house and Garden that John Neale—the person offering—can have but that; and the latter (if he is such a man as I conceive him to be, from the character given of him) will be of more service to me than the former.—I wish you well and am

Your friend

G° Washington.

LXXVII.

Philadelphia 23^d^ Aug^t^ 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 16^th^ instant, covering the weekly reports, came to my hands yesterday.—

As you have begun upon what is called Davy's field at Dogue-run, I do not wish any change;—and when to this is added the high, and dry parts of the Mill swamp Corn, and one of the lots by the Barn, the quantity of ground in Wheat, at that farm, will be pretty well.—But I wish your sowing had kept pace with the plowing where one plowing only is intended, and the Wheat is to be harrowed in.—Let this be the case with the clover lot;—and that it may have fair play, let the clover be *well* turned in by good plows and good plow-

men.—I wish the same had been done by the Buck Wheat, which you turned in for an experiment.—

From the knowledge I have of the nature of the soil of my farms, I am very sensible that it is not in your power *now* either to get the wheat sown in such good season, or in such good order, as were to be wished:—but to do the best one can, under existing circumstances, is all that can be expected. —As some of your fields, however, may be drier, and in better order for sowing than others; would it not be good policy to employ the force of other farms, besides the one to which [torn] belongs, in getting the Wheat sowed the [torn] first, and go on in that manner until the whole are compleated, by that kind of management (always taking that first which is in the best order for seeding) or till all the residue are in order, that the respective force may return to its own farm.—Grounds which are declining, or that have sand in them, may be in order to sow (as Muddy-hole fields for instance) when the flat land at the other places can not be touched.—

I would have you, merely that it may be unequivocally ascertained whether Barley will do upon my land, sow some of it again this year.—If it will, diversifying the Crops will be an advantage.—

How does the Wheat which has been threshed, or tread out, appear to yield, not only in quality, but as to the stack, or its bulk of straw also?—Send me two bushels of the best of the early Wheat, by the first Vessel bound to this city.—I have promised it to a gentleman or two of my acquaintance in these parts.—Let it be well cleaned, and certainly of the true sort.— It may be consigned to Mr. Kitt, my household Steward, in case I should not be here.—

I recollect that, in one of your letters in the Spring, you informed me, that you expected there would be about 900 bush^{ls} of Oats for Sale;—and some time afterw^{ds}, that you had sold (I think) 300:—I forgot to enquire when I was at

home whether you had sold any more, or what quantity there was on hand.—

Have you secured overseers for Union and Dogue-run farms?—This is the season for getting such as are good.—If delayed much longer you will be obliged to take indifferent ones perhaps.—

I wish you well, and am
Your friend,
G° Washington.

LXXVIII.

Philadelphia 28th Aug^{t} 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

The enclosed letter for Miss Betcy Custis[1] relates to a matter, respecting which, I have made some enquiry in her behalf —Put it into her own hands, if she is at Mount Vernon—and as she might wish, perhaps, to revolve the subject a little, before she communicates the contents to any other, give it to her when she is alone, with this letter also, which only serves to cover it.—

I am Your friend
G° Washington.

P. S.

I shall write to you again at the usual time—viz—by Mondays Post.

---

[1] Elizabeth Parke Custis, Mrs. Washington's grand-daughter, who afterwards married Mr. Law, kinsman of Lord Ellenborough, to whom the inquiries may have related. The marriage was not happy, and in later life the lady resumed the name of Custis. It is notable that when this and the preceding, and several succeeding letters, were written, the Government was in the midst of a crisis brought on by the resignation of the Secretary of State (Randolph) and the death of the Attorney General (Bradford). The letters are more brief, but the hand of the writer does not shake, nor does he fail in thoughtfulness for the affairs of Betsy Custis.

LXXIX.

Philadelphia 30th Augt 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

I have written to you so fully of late, that little remains to be said in this letter, beyond the acknowledgment of yours of the 23d instant.

I shall however add, that late as it is to be, in a manner, beginning to sow Wheat, I would rather have it delayed still longer than to be sowed in ground that is too wet; or in other respects unfit for its reception.—No seed will ever yield well when put in in bad order; or too much out of season.—

This reminds me of the necessity there is for sowing, without delay, the lot by the Spring, where Potatoes are growing, with Lucern.—Prepare the ground well, and do not spare seed (trying the goodness of it beforehand).—Admitting that the Potatoes are not yet got to their full growth, it is better, notwithstanding, that they should suffer, than the Grass (by late sowing) from which permanent advantages are expected should be injured.—

The Ploughs made by Isaac must be badly executed, or vastly abused at the Farms, from the continual employment he has in making them.—A sett of Ploughs, made and taken care of as they ought to be, cannot, surely want replacing as often as mine are, by the Carpenters report; especially as there are so few stumps and stones in any of my arable fields.—The Overseers ought to be attentive to this matter.—If they had the making, or paying for the making, themselves, there wd not be this demand for them I apprehend—and it is no good reason why they should be constantly calling for them, because they are done within myself.—

I hope from the character given of Mr. Neale, that no disappointment will follow—but if the mode of communicating

with him was not direct and certain you had better not rest it upon a single letter.—I wish you well, and am

Your friend

G° Washington.

LXXX.

Philadelphia 6th Sept 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

I was glad to find by your letter of the 30th of August, and the reports of the preceeding week, that you had recommenced seeding, with more favorable weather.—If the latter should continue good, and the ground can be put in tolerable order, all the Wheat, sowed by the middle of this month, will be in the ground in good Season; and if the Autumn is favorable, any time before the end of it, may answer very well.—I fear however, if what is called Davy's field, at Dogue-run, was too wet to sow after the Plough, it must have been too wet also for the latter;—for such land as mine, when plowed wet, always bakes hard.—

As I expect to set out in two or three days for Mount Vernon I shall add no more in this letter than that I wish you well and am your friend

G° Washington.

LXXXI.

Head of Elk, Monday Even.
19th of Oct. 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

Owing to the bad weather, and the sickness on the road of both Washington and one of the Postilions (Joe) I am no further advanced yet; and do not expect to reach Philadelphia at soonest, before tuesday afternoon.

As my Wheat would be a heavy loss to me, if the Weavil should get much into it; I must again request that no time

may be lost in getting it out of the straw, and ground up as fast as the Mill is able to do it.—As the River farm has no place in which the threshed Wheat can be secured, let that be the first cleaned and sent to the Mill.—At the other places let it be got out of the Straw and lye in the chaff, to be cleaned as fast as the Mill can grind it, and no faster.—

I wish also that you would have your Corn taken out of the field as soon as you think it can be done with safety, altho' it may not be dry enough to loft.—Nothing injures the growing Wheat among it, more than running Carts over it when the ground is in a freezing, and thawing State.—The Wheels, the feet of the Oxen, and [torn] those of the People also press [torn] about buries, and tares up (when the ground has been frozen, and thawed at top) a great deal of it.—Corn this year is drier, I conceive, than is usual at this season.—To this cause, or to want, I know not which, I have seen several fields gathered on the Road I came.—

Do not delay gathering (before the birds thin them) all the berries of the White thorn—and lay up a large store of Cedar berries in due Season.—On this subject, and hedging, I shall write to you more fully after I get to Philadelphia; but mention them now that the White thorn berries (which I fancy are rather scarce) may be got while they are in being.—

The sooner your Potatoes are up and secured the better.—The weather seems to be getting cold; and if it should be freezing, will prevent them from drying and keeping well.—Order the Overseers to be particularly attentive where these and corn grow together, to measure each separate from what may grow in other places, that I may know the comparative yield of both.—

Desire the Gardener not to trim either the Lombardy Poplar or Yellow Willow until the season shall arrive for putting out the cuttings; as I may want them for Hedging.—

I am Your friend &c[a]

G° Washington.

LXXXII.

Philadelphia 25th Oct^{r} 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

The Post of yesterday, brought me your letter of the 21st instant, and the Reports of the preceding Week.—

I am sorry to hear you have been sick, but glad to find you have recovered.—That the fly should be much in your Wheat is to be regretted; but proves the necessity of converting it as speedily as possible into flour: or even selling it in grain, if it cannot be ground in time; and a good price can be had for it in that way.—

The disappointment you have met with in the Englishman for an Overseer, is more unlucky on acc^{t} of the lateness of the season, than for any other reason; but since it has happened, I think you had better take the chance of getting a good one from the Eastern Shore (as you are going there) than to engage an indifferent one before you go.—

From George Town, I enclosed you a certificate for Donaldson;—and from the head of Elk I wrote you again, and promised to be more full on the subject of Hedging—(than which nothing is more interesting to me)—when I got to this place; but the pressing, and important business which has accumulated in my absence, will oblige me to postpone it to an hour of more leisure.[1]—I shall, however, refer you to a Book (or pamphlet) I sent you some time ago on that subject, containing many useful experiments, and hints; whilst I inform you that you can have no dependence (I presume) on the berry of the White thorn from your friend in Newcastle.—I did not come, it is true, through Newcastle, but I observed all the

[1] The Secretary of State, Edmund Randolph, had resigned Aug. 21, and the Attorney General, Bradford, died on the 23d. The President's unexpected unconditional signature of the Treaty, which both Hamilton and Randolph opposed, had caused a critical situation. The President was vainly trying to fill adequately the vacancies in his Cabinet.

Hedges about Christiana, and from that to Wilmington, and do not believe a gallon of Seed could be gathered from the whole of them.—This makes it more necessary to secure all you can at home ;—Cedar berries,—&c^{a}—&c^{a}—

I send you another Pamphlet on the subject of Manures (which I request care to be taken of.)—By reading it attentively at your evening, or leisure hours, you may, by following the precepts contained in it, benefit me, and yourself too, hereafter.—

As that trusty old negro Jack has taken leave of the troubles of this world, you must supply his place at the Stable, or rather at the Provender for it :—and I should think Allison had better keep the key of the corn loft ;—for I know of no black person about the house that is to be trusted.—

I want a Green Pocket book, w^{ch} is to be found in the hair trunk, which is usually put on my writing Table in the Study, with my Land papers.—The key of this trunk is under the lid of the writing Table.—it is tied to a bunch of other keys, by a twine.—This Pocket book is of green parchment, and contains the courses and distances of many surveys of the grounds &c^{a} in, and about my farms.—let it be put under a cover, and sent to me by the first Post, with the reports—I am,

Your friend and well wisher

G^{o} Washington.

P. S.

The Pamphlet on Manures is the newest, and supposed to be from the best source of any that has been written.

LXXXIII.

Philadelphia 22^{d} Nov^{r} 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

I received no letter from you yesterday, nor the Saturday before; nor have I written to you for several weeks, on account of your proposed journey to the Eastern Shore:

postponing it until the time I expected your return from thence.—

In one or two of the letters I have written to you since I left Mount Vernon, it was intimated that I should be more full on the subject of Hedging whenever I was at leizure.—This will hardly happen I believe, while I am in this city.—But, as there is nothing which has relation to my farms—not even the Crops of grain—that I am so solicitous about as getting my fields enclosed with live fences, I cannot too often, nor too strongly inculcate this doctrine upon you; and I find it more necessary to do so, as it is considered in the light of a subordinate object, and made to yield to other things.—

It is a useless expence and trouble, to buy, or gather seeds;—to put them in the ground;—or to transplant from the nursery to the hedge; if they are not attended to afterwards with as much care as a field of Indian corn:—nay, as plants in a garden; until they are too powerful to be injured by Weeds or grass.—Unless this is done, every antecedent expence and labour is thrown away;—and disagreeable as that is,—it is not to be compared with the loss of time: in effecting this plan year after year.—

At least 15 years have I been urging my managers to substitute live fences in lieu of dead ones—which, if continued upon the extensive scale my farms require, must exhaust all my timber;—and to this moment I have not one that is complete:—nor never shall, unless they are attended to in the manner before mentioned; and if plants die, to replace them the next season; and so on, until the hedge is close, compact, and sufficient to answer the purpose for which it is designed.—

It may be said, and with great truth, that the latter part of last summer was so wet as to render it impossible to keep weeds and grass under—of course that labour was greatly multiplied;—but this is an evidence also of another thing which I have been equally anxious to adopt, and that is to

tend less ground—and to manure and cultivate the smaller quantity higher.—Sure I am, the profit will be greater:—why else will a particular spot of ground, if it is well dressed and prepared, yield five and twenty or 30 bushels of Corn or Wheat to the acre, when the circumjacent land (of the same original quality) will not, at most, produce more than eight or ten?—The reason is obvious;—the ground, in the first place, is kept clean;—is well prepared;—and well cultivated;—and in the next place, the manure which is put on it, and would hardly be perceived in an hundred acre field, would be sensibly felt in one of 50 acres.—But this is not all—a small quantity of ground, proportioned to the force that is to cultivate it—may, under all circumstances of weather, be kept in order;—for if the weather be bad, it still can be managed; if good, it not only can be managed, but time is afforded to get up mud, and do many other advantageous things on a farm;—Whereas a full crop, is hardly manageable as it ought to be even in good weather, and is much injured, if not lost, if it proves unfavorable; whilst everything else of smaller magnitude is ruined.

The last paragraph is a digression from the subject of Hedging, but serves to shew my ideas of aiming at too much;—at the same time that it serves to prove what are really facts, that hedging, ditching, and putting my Meadows in prime order, would be infinitely more agreeable to me, and ultimately more profitable, than an attempt to encrease my crops of grain.—But to return to hedging.—

At the proper season let all the English thorn, in the Vineyard, be transplanted (I do not care where, so it be) to places where the strongest inner fences are required.—Let the long string of fence from the gate at Union farm (going into N° 1) quite through to the branch be planted with the honey locust, if they are of a size proper for it.—Continue the Cedar hedge from the Barn at that place, to the Mill road; or as far as you have plants for the purpose:—and

then (on both sides of that lane) in ground properly spaded, or well hoed up, and formed into a bed, sow the Cedar berries in a single straight row; after rubbing off the skin, or glutinous substance which surrounds the seed, in the manner which has been mentioned to you; and which, it is said, is necessary to their vegitation.—But with respect to these, and other berries, the vegitation of which is said to be promoted by their passing through the body of an animal, I have often thought, that if they were put into a pot with water sufficient to moisten the whole mass of them, and kept warm (but not hot) from morning until night, and then to have the skin rubbed off as before mentioned, it would answer as well as the heat of the animal body.—The only danger would be from carelessness, in letting them get so hot as to destroy vegitation altogether.

The cross fences, where hogs are not suffered to run, might, in my opinion be made from the cuttings of the Lombardy poplar; which being quick of growth would, wattled in the manner I have described to you, soon form a hedge against horses, cattle and Sheep: and might, if necessary hereafter, have a hedge, on the contrary side of the ditch made of locust, Thorn, Cedar, or something equally substantial, tho' of slower growth; to aid, or supply the place of the first, if it should decay soon.—But it is useless to attempt more than can be executed;—and a folly to begin on fresh ditches until those which are planted on the old ones, are made good.—

No hedge, alone, will, I am persuaded, do for an outer inclosure, where *two*, or four footed hogs find it convenient to open a passage; but I am equally satisfied, that any hedge will do for partition fences, where no hogs are suffered to run;—consequently those that can be quickest raised, will answer my purposes best; if I am even obliged to have a double hedge, in the manner before mentioned, to be ready for the decline of the first.—

On board of Capt^{n} Ellwood, I sent you, to the care of Mr. Hartshorn, or Col^{o} Gilpins, 28½ lbs of Chicory seed in a bag; twelve pounds of w^{ch} I request you to sow in the lot by the Spring, at Mansion house (once intended for Lucern) as early in March as you can get the gr^{d} in perfect order.—You may sow it alone, or with Oats, very thin; The residue of this Seed, sow, at the rate of twelve pounds to the Acre, on the Wheat in the lot by the Barn at Dogue-run.—Let this be done in February or March, on a slight Snow; and sow the residue of that lot, at the same time with Lucern seed, at the rate of at least 15 lbs to the acre.—The rest of the Lucern seed you may sow at the other farms, as convenient to the Stables as you can find suitable gr^{d}; that it may be handy for soiling the work horses in its green State; or where else you please.—

The Chiccory being a very light seed, should be mixed with Sand, ashes, or something of this sort to make it sow regular. —The enclosed paper will give you some idea of its worth.— So much has been said of the value of this plant for feeding horses, cattle and Sheep, that I have been induced to give upwards of Six pounds Sterling for the small bag I now send you.—this circumstance alone, makes particular attention to it necessary.—

Give the small papers enclosed, to the Gardener, and desire him to pay particular attention to them.—

The small sketch enclosed, shews the course of the Road from the white gates in Front of the Mansion house, to the end of the little old field; and I could be glad, if circumstances would allow it, if a new road was opened along the streight line A B if you can, without a compass, lay it off streight or if it was to strike the road a little beyond the field, next the Gum spring no other disadvantage than lengthening of it, and increasing the labour in opening of it, would result therefrom.—This road would leave out a small part of the inclosure by the White gates, and would cross a

rising by the little old field; but if I have a proper recollection of it, the assent in going to the house will be very easy, and none elsewhere in returning—and a good view of the house would be had from it.—If this road was opened, a substantial ditch (as soon as the ditchers could be spared from the Mill race) might be thrown up along it as far as the fence at C where the line I laid off the morning I left home, would meet it, and a good fence be placed thereon.—

Urge the Miller to grind up my Wheat as fast as he can.—Let me know how you have gone on in getting it out—and what the quantity, and quality of it is likely to be—How your Corn turns out—And how the growing Crops look.—I wish you well, and am

Your friend

G° Washington.

P. S.

Have you got an Overseer yet for Union Farm.

LXXXIV.

Philadelphia 29th Novr 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

The Post of yesterday brought me your letter of the 26th instt, and the weekly reports of the 14th and 21st preceeding.—

I am sorry to find by them that you have had much sickness among the Negros; and that the prospect of a good crop of Corn, as well as a tolerable one of Wheat, is diminishing.—As the latter of these is got out, and the horses more at liberty, I hope every diligence will be used in breaking up the fields intended for the ensuing crop, when the weather will permit, and the ground is in order for it:—and I request also, that your shelters may be prepared for the reception of the different species of Stock, at all the Farms, by, or before the season requires them to be used; for if Cattle suffer in the early part of winter, they rarely recover it.—

By the Report from River farm I perceive shelter is preparing for the horses at that place;—what this means I know not; but it reminds me of the necessity of giving substantial shores to the Barn and Stables there:—otherwise some very disasterous accident may befal not only the horses, but negros also, in a high wind, or storm.—

How does Neale seem to conduct himself in the superintendence of the workmen?—I hope he will have a little more command over them than Green or Donaldson had; or he will get little more done by them than they did.—I take it for granted, that by his agreement, he is to work himself.—If then, you perceive any backwardness in his doing so remark it to him at first appearance of it.—Neglects of this sort come on by degrees; and increase in proportion as they are overlooked.—Let him cast his eyes round, and see what kind of work is, or will be wanting, and can be done within doors;—when the weather is such as to prevent the people from working out to advantage, or with safety; and have the materials previously lodged in the Barn, to go on with it.—

Among these, I recollect at once—Dormant Windows to the Barn;—Sashes to the Kitchen where they are falling to pieces;—Plank tried up for the North end of the Mansion house, that is now rotting;—(Plank of a proper width and thickness, and without sap should be procured for this purpose)—the same for the Pillars of the covered way going into the Kitchen;—Locust Posts for the circle before the door;—Harrows, Ploughs, rakes, Wheels, Carts, cradles for the grain harvest;—repairing spinning Wheels, and many other things which might be thought of, and executed within, to advantage, when the weather is rainy, snowy, very sloppy, or very cold.—If he is a man of industry and contrivance, and will give his attention to these things, more will be done by a proper arrangement of the business than can easily be conceived; and by such an arrangement, work might be so for-

warded out of the rough, as to superceed the necessity perhaps, of calling hands in, to do occasional jobs;—or keeping Isaac and Joe always, as it were, from the other people, doing less, it is presumed than they would do, if they were under the eye of a man who would attend to them.—

Enclosed, is a copy of the Invoices of the Oznabrigs and Blankets;—there are, as you will perceive, two kinds of each. —let the better sort of Linnen be given to the grown people, and the most deserving; whilst the more indifferent sort is served to the younger ones and worthless.—I request that particular attention may be given to the cutting out that, there may be neither waste, nor embezzlement if it is cut out by the Negro women; and a piece at a time only used.—the number of yards in each piece appears by the Invoice, and it is easily ascertained what quantity a shirt; or shift will take (of the different sizes) and calculate thereby.—All my People that want blankets (or rather all that are entitled to them) must be supplied; giving to the grown Negros the larger, or better sort.—Many have lately been given to the laying in Women,—but where the children are living, it is usual to let them come in with the rest notwithstanding;—but where dead, not to do so.—

You said something to me about Sein twine, but nothing was fixed that I recollect; if you depend upon me for it, not a moment is to be lost in sending round, as the Navigation may soon be stopped by Ice.—

Have you rec^{d} the money yet for my flour and Corn?—Pay yourself, Overseers, and everything I owe with it, and let me know how the acc^{t} stands.—Charge Peter to be careful of the Mules designed for my own particular use—and let the number be Six instead of four.

I am Your friend, &c^{a}

G^{o} Washington.

LXXXV.

Philadelphia 6th Decr 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

I have received your letter of the 29th ultº with the Weekly reports of the 6th and 28th of November.

I wish you to make the most you can of the materials you have within yourself, for hedging; for I do not believe you will get any berries of the white thorn from Newcastle; for the reason given in one of my letters after I arrived at this place, from Mount Vernon last.—I hope the Ceder berries will prove better than you expect, that you may, as soon as possible, get the lane from the New barn (at Union farm) to the Mill road compleated with that kind of hedge on both sides.—Make good the hedges as you proceed, in this business; otherwise you will have incomplete ones, that will render no service.—Anxious as you perceive I am, to substitute hedges instead of dead fences, I have full confidence in your exertion to raise them;—and as I have observed in a former letter, those for inner and cross fences, where no hogs are suffered to run, may, in the first instance, be made of anything that suits the soil, and will grow quick; altho' they should be doubled hereafter.—When I speak of tilling too much land, and add that a less quantity would be more productive than the greater quantity, which is now tended in order to produce an adequate quantity of Corn; I would not be understood to mean that half of one of your fields in the condition they now are, would produce you as much corn (or other things) as the whole of it would do;—that would be absurd;—but for example, suppose ten hands are necessary to cultivate a field of 100 acres (more or less) and that this quantity, in common seasons, can be cultivated as well as usually is done, but will allow no spare time, or labour for any extra work—my idea then is, that by turning half that field out, or rather let it be enclosed, and nothing suffered to run

upon it (that all the grass and weeds it produces may fall, rot, and ameliorate the soil)—Cultivate the other half better than you *could* do the whole;—and bestow all the spare labour of the ten hands in raking,—scraping,—collecting and carrying out all the manure that can be obtained from Swamps, ponds, trash about houses, and in the lanes,—and even leaves and rotten trees from the woods; that more would be produced in a year or two from the 50 acres, than is now got from the hundred:—and by this means gullies might be filled up—and many other improvements made on the farms that are not, nor cannot be done, with a full crop.—Is it not better to get 20 bushels of Wheat (and other things in proportion) from one acre of ground, than from two acres?—That worn land, undressed and unimproved will not produce the latter, that is 20 bushels, and when well cultivated and manured, will produce the former, is known to every man who has attended to these things;—and yet, such is the force of habit, that people will not quit the path their fathers have trod in.—Besides, I am so well persuaded of the injury, land sustains from the growth of Indian Corn, I never desire to raise more than enough for my Negros (who cannot do without it;) substituting other species of food for Horses, Hogs &c^{a}—or even buying, from the sales of other crops if I cannot do this.—

I agree to your putting N° 1 at Muddy-hole in Oats instead of N° 6.—And one object which makes me desirous of clearing ground at the Mansion house, and tilling what has been grubbed, is to relieve those worn out fields at the former; whilst the principal design, is to improve and beautify the grounds about the latter.—But altho' I wish very much to have the new road (sketched out in one of my late letters,) opened, yet I cannot, nor do not request it, if more essential matters are to suffer by it.—perhaps it may be done on a streight line from the sweep by the white gates, to the intersection of the proposed road. and the fence, which was marked out the morning I left home.

I am glad to hear that your growing grain looks well.—take care to make drains, in time, to take the water from all low places;—and let me know, as soon as the matter is ascertained, the amount of your Wheat and Corn Crops at each place; and in each field; if the acc^{ts} have been kept distinct.—

I remain your friend and well wisher

G^{o} Washington.

P. S.

What Hogs have you put up for Porke? and when will they be fit to kill?

LXXXVI.

Philadelphia 13th Dec^{r} 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 6th inst^{t}, enclosing the Weekly reports, has been duly received.

I am glad to find by it that the sickness among my people is abating.—If Cyrus[1] continues to give evidence of such qualities as would fit him for a waiting man, encourage him to persevere in them; and if they should appear to be sincere and permanent, I will receive him in that character when I retire from public life, if not sooner.—To be sober, attentive to his duty, honest, obliging and cleanly, are the qualifications necessary to fit him for my purposes.—If he possesses these, or can acquire them—he might become useful to me, at the same time that he would exalt, and benefit himself.

When you receive the money for my last years flour and Corn, I wish that every demand, of whatsoever nature or kind, may be discharged.—I never like to owe anything, lest I might be called upon for payment when I am not possessed of the means.—A Dun, would not be agreeable to me, at any

[1] A negro boy.

time;—and not to pay money when it is due, and might really be wanting, would hurt my feelings.—

Wheat in this market is at from 15 to 20/. p^{r} bush, and flour thirteen dollars and an half p^{r} barr^{l}.—Probably this may be occasioned by the desire of Shipping it before the frost sets in, to stop the Navigation.—I therefore request that the Miller would exert himself in grinding mine; and if you can get the above price (allowing for the deduction of freight from Alexandria to this City) to sell, on a reasonable credit, all the flour he has, or can get ready, at that price.—

I will make enquiry for Sein twine and if it is to be had on better terms here than in Alexandria, and a Vessel offers (which is not the case at present) I will send a quantity round.—

Two more mules (altho' they may be older than the four now up) may be turned over to Peter—Let him chuse those which are most promising, and nearest in colour.

I am Your friend &c^{a}

G^{o} Washington.

LXXXVII.

Philadelphia 20th Dec^{r} 1795.

Mr. Pearce,

Having received neither the Weekly reports nor a^{r} letter from you yesterday, as usual, I fear you are unwell, or something else is the cause of it, as I got other letters by the Southern Mail.—

Flour keeps up to 13½ dollars p^{r} bar^{l}. If I have any therefore on hand, to dispose of, I wish it were sold at that price, on a reasonable credit; allowing for the freight to this place; which is all that the purchaser ought to require, unless he contends for Insurance also.—One cause for this price is, to get it out before the frost sets in, so as to impede the Navigation.—Whether a fall afterwards may be permanent, or not,

I will not undertake to decide ;—but I had rather sell at that price than run the hazard of its doing it.—

I could buy Sein twine in this city at ¾ this money, but no Vessel offers for Potomack, and probably will not before the river closes; you must do therefore what seems to you best under these circumstances—that is to buy there—weight, and take the chance of getting it from hence in time—or to rent the Landing for a certain sum; obliging the Hire, er of it, to furnish you from the first running, with as many Shad and Herrings as you usually put up for family use.—Sometime last year, I wrote you a letter on this subject which may contain (altho' I dont know that it does) some useful ideas, if the latter mode should be preferred.—

I am your friend and well wisher

G° Washington.

LXXXVIII.

Philadelphia 3d Jan. 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 27th with the reports came to hand yesterday—and I am glad to find you have met with a supply of twine in Alexandria, as there is no prospect that has yet opened, of getting it from hence in time and I have no doubt that under all chances fishing yourself will be more profitable than hiring out the landing for Sixty pounds.—

I am not disposed to take any thing less for my flour than it sells at here (allowing for freight and Insurance) for if it is well manufactured, it will pass Inspection in this Market, and of course command the price of other flour, without the credit which is required in Alexandria and would be for my interest to bring it hither, rather than sell at an under rate.—In any case, however, I request that Davenport may hasten the grinding as much as possible, that you may be enabled to take the advantage of a Vessel wanting a quantity to dispatch her, and

the badness of the roads, which may prevent its coming from the upper country by land; which must be the case *now*, from the openess of the winter, hitherto; and will be the case in the spring when it is breaking up which circumstances are favorable for a good sale if you keep a good lookout.—

My letter to you, must have been opened after it went from me, for I think it never could have left my hands without a seal.[1]—But letters for sometime past have been opened, to come at Bank and Post notes; and some persons are now under trial for this practice.

I am Your friend &c^{a}

G^{o} Washington.

LXXXIX.

Philadelphia 17th Jan. 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letters of the 3^{d} and 10th inst^{t} are both before me,—the last came yesterday, and the first on tuesday.

I should be sorry if Davenports disorder should prove fatal to him; it would be a heavy stroke upon his family at any time, and unlucky for me at the present.—

I am under no concern for the fall which has taken place in the price of flour—that it will be up again, and higher than ever in the spring there is but little doubt—indeed some well informed Merchants declare they should not be surprized to find it at twenty dollars p^{r} Barrel at that season.—

There can be no question, in my mind that herrings will be at 10/. p^{r} Thousand and Shads at three dollars at least p^{r} hundred for which reason, my advice to you is, not to take less from Mr. Smith, or any other who may offer to contract, beforehand.

You may manage the fields at Union farm in whatever manner you think best—My great object (more than making

[1] See Introduction.

crops) is to preserve the land and the mode you have suggested for the ensuing crop, may answer that purpose.—

I have no objection to your disposing of all the fallen timber to Waggoners that you see no prospect of getting up yourself upon the best terms you can obtain.—taking care to prevent, as far as possible, impositions and inconveniences from admitting them within your outer fences.—To keep which up, is an object of great importance; and I wish it to be done as far as it is in your power without neglecting things of greater moment.—It was always my intention, and is my earnest wish, to get a hedge of the honey locust, or some plant of quick and stubborn growth upon the outer ditch as soon as possible.—

How does your winter grain stand this open weather?—It has been fine for grubbing, and I hope that business has, and is going on well.—Have you a prospect of getting all grubbed within the line I laid off the morning I left home?—and is it likely you can do anything towards the New road from the White gates this winter or Spring?

As Allison knew that it never was contemplated to bring, or have a married man about the Mansion house as an Overseer, he would be rightly served to be turned of[f]; but as it might be difficult to supply his place at this season I can give no direction about it, but leave the matter to yourself to act as circumstances dictate.

It is hardly possible it can be three years since I subscribed to the Salary of Mr. Davis [1]—how then can there be two years due when one has been paid? Surely it was not the terms of the Subscription to pay ten pounds at the beginning, and ten pounds at the end of the first year. But you can ascertain this matter by having recourse to the paper—or, Mr. Herbert, who was the gentleman that obtained my name to it.—

---

[1] Rev. Thomas Davis. (See *ante*.)

It is not want of water, but the great quantity of it that is wasted, that makes the scarcity at the Mill, and this will continue to be the case until the New race is done and all the rotten and week parts below it are thoroughly repaired.—after which, except in *very* dry summers I do not conceive there will be much cause for complaint.—

I remain your friend and well wisher

G° Washington.

XC.

Philadelphia 25th Jan. 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

The letter which accompanies the two parcels of Rice herewith sent, gives all the information I am able to transmit, respecting the cultivation of them;—and to which I request you to pay particular attention.—

As these small things may be laid by, and forgot when the season for sowing or preparing ground for them arrives;—and even after sowing them, may be forgotten in the due cultivation of them—It would be proper to avoid the first, to put them in places where they cannot be overlooked—and as a remembrancer of the latter, to note down in your book of reports the time—and place—where and when, they are put into the ground.—

I am Your friend

G° Washington.

XCI.

Phil^{a} 31st Jan^{y} 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 24th inst. with the reports, came to hand, at the usual time, yesterday.—And I am sorry to find by them that sickness is so prevalent among the people.—

It is occasioned I presume by the changeableness of the weather;—and will I hope, be carried off by the steady cold which seems to be now setting in.—

Has your grain been covered with snow?—If not, how does it, and is it likely, to withstand these open frosts?

If you cannot get a Miller until the first of June—(I mean who will remain with you until that time)—let me know it, and I will endeavor to send one from hence:—but the season will, in a manner, be passed away before one could reach you from hence; for which reason, if you could get a fit character nearer home, it would be better.—I hope the loss of Ben will not be added to that of Davenport.—Let care be taken of him, and all the rest of the sick.—

As I am almost as confident as I can be of anything, that depends upon a bad memory, that it is not three years since I subscribed to a Salary for Mr. Davis, I cannot discover upon what ground it is he claims three years payment; unless my subscription anticipated a years payment, of which I have no recollection;—but which must certainly be known to Mr. Herbert who was the Gentleman that solicited my name to the instrument.—I am always willing to pay what I owe—but *never* that which I *do not* owe.

I wish you well and am y^{r} friend

G^{o} Washington.

XCII.

Philadelphia 7th Feb^{y} 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter, begun on the 31st of last month, and ended the 2^{d} of this, came, with the Reports enclosed, duly to hand yesterday; together with the list of Dower Negros which are taken exactly as I wished.—I now wish you would forward to me a list of all the remaining Negros on the Estate;—dis-

tinguishing French's from the others; and both made out in the manner of the last—giving the ages &c[a].[1]

After I hear from you again, respecting a Miller, I shall be better able to determine than now, whether to send a Miller from hence or not;—especially as, all circumstances considered, it may be found as well to sell the Wheat in grain as to grind it, if the Mill can be rented on Advantages terms before the next Manufacturing season comes on—of which I request you to be particular in your enquiries that I may know the utmost she will Rent for.—

Let me know in your next (for the Mill report gives no account of it) what quantity of flour is ground:—and I should be glad to know as nearly as you can give a guess from what you have already got out of the Straw, the quantity remaining in it.—In short I wish to know as nearly as may be conjectured (with certainty I am sensible it cannot be) the whole amount of the last years crop, of this article.—

I never was under any apprehension, from the fall in the price of Wheat or flour in Alexandria, that I had missed the market for mine;—and I am more convinced now than ever, that both will be higher than it ever has been.—The high bounty given by the British Parliament for the importation of both these articles into that country;—the scarcity in Europe generally, and the great demand for the latter in the West Indies; will raise the market beyond any thing ever known in this country.—Wheat at this moment is at 20/. p[r] Bushel, and flour at fourteen dollars p[r] Barrel and rising in this City.—Keep me advised of the Alexandria prices.—

If you can get a *good* workman who will be industrious and sober (and not extravagent) it would not only be my

---

[1] The exact date of Washington's Will is unknown, a blank being left after "seventeen hundred and ninety—." The information requested of Pearce was probably desired for the preparation of that characteristic document, in which his own negroes are carefully distinguished, from those of his wife, for immediate emancipation.

wish to have the North end of the Mansion house thoroughly repaired, but every other part of it; with the Pillars of the Piazza—covered ways to the Kitchen and Servants hall, compleatly repaired also;—together with the sashes of all the houses where they require it.—And I would have Venetian blinds made for the Windows above, on the west side of the house like those below, but to fit better than they do.—Or, if the windows are so framed as to permit it, these Venetian blinds would look, and be better on the out side; to open and shut (by means of hinges) like those on the front door, but in a neater Stile.—If they are made for the outside above, the same must be below, in order to correspond; or it would have an odd appearance.—In that case the blinds now in use may be worked up.—It must be a good workman to execute these several jobs (for I would have none of them done in a bungling manner)—and that they may come lighter to me, as jobs of this sort must be undertaken at day wages, let Isaac and the boy assist, under his direction, in slitting out and trying up the stuff from the rough.—

The check which Doct^r^ Stuart has given you on the Bank of Alexandria you may lay out in Stock (or shares) therein.—I do not know the cost of a share, but if it wants a little aid to complete a share, or certain number of shares, and you have the means of affording it, I would have you do so.—But tell Doct^r^ Stuart when you see him, that I apprehend he is under a mistake in charging me three years hire of Peter.—The last time he paid *me* money (which cannot be three years ago) the hire of Peter was allowed for therein; and a receipt taken for the same; or else my memory has failed me exceedingly.—This however, if an error, can easily be rectified by having recourse to that settlement, or to the receipts.

If Mrs. Davenport means to remove to Norfolk, you may aid her with a little money to do so;—to the amount of three, four or five pounds, according to circumstances.—

You will perceive by the enclosed advertisement, which is

intended more as an essay to see whether I can rent my farms—[*remainder of letter missing*].

XCIII.

Philadelphia 21st Feb. 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

Since my last to you, I have received your letters of the 7th and 14th Instant.

I am under no apprehension of flour falling; but keep me advised of the Alexandria price.—The fears expressed by the purchasers, of its falling, is calculated to alarm the Sellers.—They know full well, it is not likely to happen.—The scarcity and demand being so great.—

As I wish, after this Crop of Wheat is Manufactured, to Rent my Mill, it would scarcely be worth while to send a Miller from hence, even if I knew where to get one, but that I do not;—and therefore would have you do as well as you can to procure one yourself, to grind up the present crop.—

The Gentlemen who think 250 dollars a sufficient Rent for my Mill differ very widely from me.—This sum would not bring me 2½ pr Ct for the money wch has been expended on her, the Race, &ca—Mr. Digges' Mill near Bladensburgh Rented for £300 Maryld Money pr Ann. and it was supposed would go much higher when the term (which is now about expiring) was out.—But of this you may get particular information from Colo Fitzgerald (one of the Executors) which I wish you would do, and let me know.—Mr. Digges's Mill may have a more constant stream of Water than mine, but in no other respect is better;—and a considerable alteration will take place in mine, when the New Race is compleated.—

Those tenants which you speak of, near Mrs. French's, must pay more than 20/. Rent for every acre of *tillable* land they possess; few of them, if I am not mistaken, having

more than ten, 12, or fifteen Acres cleared: and it was the cost of the cleared land I was enquiring after;—not what they paid for a lot, when eight-tenths of it might be in Wood; which could produce them nothing.—Mine being cleared, and fit for the plough, I wanted to know what others got, as some rule to fix a value thereon.—

I do not understand the Alexandria Printer's[1] meaning, when he talks of not having tipes to spare for my Advertisement.—Does it take more tipes for that, than any other piece of the same length?—If not, would he not have the same tipes to use in the interval, between every publication whether of a week, fortnight, or any other given time?—

I am willing to encourage the Bank of Alexandria if it is not at too great a loss, in the purchase of New shares, and therefore leave you at liberty to apply the money that way under that restriction only.—

The repairs to the North end of the Mansion house, and perhaps some others, are so essential, that you must engage the person whom you had in view to do them, upon the best terms you can; whether he is aided by the Negro carpenters or not.—

I see by the last weeks report that Cæsar has been absent six days.—Is he a runaway?—If so, it is probable he will escape altogether, as he can read, if not write.—

I thought to have given you the terms on which I propose to let my farms, but other matters have engaged me so much, that I have not had time yet to digest them to my satisfaction; but you shall have them as soon as I am able to do it.—In the mean time, if any enquiries have been made, let me know it and the tendency of them.—

I am sorry you entertain a doubt of remaining with me another year; for whether I retain the farms;—Rent them;—

[1] The "Columbian Mirror and Alexandria Gazette," which was first issued 21 Nov. 1792. It had a precursor in "The Times and Alexandria Advertiser," which was in existence as early as 1786.

or do both, in part; your services would be equally essential to me: and my unwillingness to look out for another Manager would be equally great:—especially as I should, so soon after, quit public life, and settle myself once more in Peace, under my own Vine and fig tree; and could, thereafter, attend more to my own business than I am able to do at present—And as it is probable too your health may be better, after you are more innured to a Water situation. For these reasons I hope your determination is not so fixed but it will be altered.—

I wish you well, and
am Your friend
G° Washington.

XCIV.

Philadelphia 9th Mar. 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

As I did not receive your letter of the 28th ult°, until eight o'clock last night;—and am hurried this morning in preparing other letters for the Post.—I shall do no more than inform you, that besides the Cask of Clove Seed by Captn Hand,—there went a small box of Apple grafts for the Gardener.—The apples are of a most extraordinary large size, and good for eating.—Desire Ehler (as I hope he will receive them in time) to graft them carefully.—I do not know what name the Apple goes by;—but he may distinguish them by—the large Apple.—

If you have not already purchased shares in the Bank of Alexandria, desist until you hear further from me;—but if you have done it, take no notice of this countermand.

I wish you better health and am
Your friend
G° Washington.

XCV.

Philadelphia 13th March 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 28th of Feby (as I mentioned in a short letter written to you on Wednesday last) did not reach my hands until tuesday evening;—and I had it not in my power next morning, before closing the Mail, to mention some things which I am about to do in this letter.—

The scarcity of Corn, and high price of that article in all the Southern States, and in the Southern and western parts of Virginia, gives serious alarm.—Whether I have enough to serve me, or any to spare, I know not, but in either case, I request the utmost care and parsimony may be observed in using it.—In many places I am told it is at six and seven dollars a barrel already; and expected to rise.

When you have got the whole of the New ground at Mansion house properly cleaned up, and fit for the Hoe and plough; calculate what force of hands, and horses it will take to cultivate it; and *well;* in Corn this year; and that you may be certain of accomplishing it as it ought to be; (as my great object is to kill the roots, and destroy the sprouts, so as to fit it for grass) I would, if there be any doubt of effecting this in the manner here expressed, have the Corn ground else where reduced:—especially too as I should like to have the waste ground, adjoining to the last years corn, at the same place, also brought into cultivation; and for the same purpose as the other;—that is—that it may be thoroughly reclaimed from Roots, sprouts and Shrubs; and laid to grass.—As there were many ugly gullies in the part last mentioned, I hope you have had, or will have them filled up, with the brush &c^{a} from the other parts.—Not being sure that I gave you a plat of these grounds, I do it now; that by knowing the exact quantity you may calculate your force accordingly;—allowing, as no doubt you will, for the extra: labour of working New

ground, where there will be so many interruptions by roots &c[a]; and old ground, where the Plough w[d] run smooth and easy.—Let all the Trees w[ch] have been left, (as well this year as formerly) except where they stand in clumps, be trimmed to one even height from the ground; and as high as they well can be, by means of a Chizzel and Staff.—To do this properly, will have a two fold effect;—1[st], by lopping off so many limbs, and so high up, the shade, and of course the injury to the corn, will be less;—and 2[dly], it will add beauty to the appearance of the trees, when they get to be of larger growth.—

Altho' I am under no apprehension of Flour falling in price (but, on the contrary, that it will continue to rise, especially if the British forces have arrived in the West Indies, of which I believe there is no doubt) I would have you keep me regularly informed of the Alexandria price of this article, and the terms of payment; that I may know when to strike.—And that it may all go together, I beg you to exert your best endeavors to complete the grinding of my Wheat as soon as possible.—Let me know the number of Barrels you have on hand, and how many more there probably will be from the supposed quantity of Wheat yet to deliver.—If the Miller's weekly report was to contain the quantity of flour on hand it would save me these enquiries. —Whenever it is sold, take care to reserve a full quantity for my Table—and the demands of those who are to be supplied by agreement.—

I wish to know from Col[o] Fitzgerald what the Rent of Mr. Digges Mill near Bladensburgh is.—What Rickets pays for Bird's near Alexandria;—and that you w[d] extend your enquiries as much as you can, and let me know the result.— I cannot speak with certainty for want of the accounts, but should suppose that £100 p[r] Ann. for my Mill would fall far short of the *common* interest of the money she has cost me; including the labour of my own People.—

I never supposed you had made any mistake in giving an acc^{t} of the Rents which Mrs. French, and those about her, received for their Lands, by the hundred acres.—The tendency of my enquiries was to ascertain a fact—viz—If She, or they, give leases for lots containing 100 acres each, what proportion of that hundred acres is cleared, and in order for cultivation?—If the Tenant gives fifteen pounds for an hundred ac^{s} and there is only fifteen acres of that hundred cleared, he does (until more is arable) actually pay 20/. per acre for the cultivable Land.—Therefore, as the Land I propose to let, is already in order for the Plough—I wanted to draw a comparison between what I ask for my fields, and others give by the acre for cleared land, already in order for tillage.—I do not know that my conjectures with respect to the tenements about Mrs. French's are well founded;—but if they are, and in a hundred acre lot, there be not more than 15 or 20 acres of arable, those tenants pay double what I ask for my land; supposing a dollar to be the medium price of a Bushel of Wheat;—and yet I have not much expectation of letting my farms on the terms I offer them; as *sounds*, often terrify more than realities.—The truth is, if I do not get what I conceive to be an adequate Rent, and good tenants, who will do justice to the land, I shall not rent them at all.—The terms have been forwarded to you in a former letter.—It is not my intention to let the Negros with the farms.—But you may, nevertheless, when enquiries are made know what could be obtained for both, &c^{a}.

Until all danger from frost is over, mention in your letters how the Winter grain looks:—and when this danger is past, inform me how it appears; whether the ground is sufficiently stored with it; and whether the naked places are numerous and large.—Do not spare the Roller if you should be of opinion that good would result from the use of it.—

My public duties press so much upon me, that unless some-

thing occurs, to remind me of my private concerns they escape me altogether.—This would have been the case with respect to the Jacks, and Stud horse had you not mentioned Allison's request.—Had it occurred in time, I intended to have informed you, that both Col° Ball (near Leesburgh) and Mr. Rob^{t} Lewis (near Fauquier Court house) had suggested, that one of my Jacks, at either of those places, would have Many Mares sent to him.—And I should have added, that I did not object to the measure; but would leave it to you and Peter (the last of whom ought by this time to know which it would be best for me to retain) to say which should go.—Now, I presume it is too late in the Season to change their destination; for before one could be got to either of those Gentlemen, and notice thereof given, the covering season would be far advanced.—After mentioning these things I still leave it to you to do what you conceive will be most conducive to my interest.—If either of those Gentlemen was to get either of the Jacks, two things I should insist upon—1st the utmost care of the animal;—and 2^{dly} No credit to be given; at least for the part which is to fall to my share, for there is no collect^{g} debts of this sort.

I know nothing of Thomas Allison's circumstances, responsibility, Plan or terms,—consequently can say nothing relative to his offer.—But as he lives in the same neighbourhood, and cannot, I should suppose, be provided with either Stable, Forage or Pasturage fit for such purposes, I do not see what more is to be expected from sending the horse there, than keeping him at Mount Vernon; (especially as *his* profits would be to be deducted from the earnings of the coverings: and besides, I thought the horse was necessary to be with the Jacks, to try the Mares by.—

As you have already taken ten shares in the Alexandria Bank, I am very well satisfied thereat; and that it should so remain.

Open and Mild as the winter has been, will you not have

Hay to sell?—In that case, how much, and what is the price of it in Alex[a]—I remain Your friend

G° Washington.

P. S.

Your letter of the 6[th] instant came to hand yesterday, but there is nothing contained in it, that is not already noticed in the aforegoing letter.—

XCVI.

Philadelphia 27[th] Mar. 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

Yesterday brought me your letter of the 20[th] instant, with the Reports of the preceding week.—

I am sorry to find by it that your winter grain has changed its appearance, for the worse; and that your fences have been so much deranged by the high wind you have had—in a greater degree I think than it was here—tho' it was very violent with us also.—These being acts of Providence, and not within our controul, I never repine at them:—but if the Roller will be of any use to the grain I beg it may be applied. —Let the damage which the Cupulo, and other things have sustained from the wind, be repaired as soon as possible.

I would not have you undertake more of the New ground in Corn than you can cultivate *Well* with the Mansion house and Muddy-hole hands; assisted as much as possible (at convenient times) by those from the other farms.—It was always my intention and expectation, that the *whole* would have been tilled in Corn; and the field at Muddy-hole which, otherwise, would have been in this article, would have lain over to another year.—I went upon the principle that it was of very little use to clear and grub ground, if it was not cultivated; because in a year or two it would be as foul as ever.—However, I do not make this observation with a view to stimulate you to attempt more than you can execute *compleatly;* for that would not only defeat the view of preparing the field for

grass, but by not cultivating it well, would be the loss of the Crop.—

I am under no apprehension, or fear, that flour with you, will not again take a start;—it is now at 16 dollars in this city; and every account from Europe developes more and more the scarcity of it there, besides the demand for it in the West Indies; but dispose of yours (if you can) on the terms mentioned in a former letter; and let me know from time to time what the current price is.—

You say Compound *may* be spared, but do not add that he *will*, or to *whom*, altho' I left both altogether to your own discretion.—No time is to be lost if he goes at all—Mr. Lewis would, probably attend more to him than Col° Ball—and is, besides, an Agent of mine for other purposes.—

From the present state of the business in Congress, I see very little prospect of its rising before June;—of course I shall not be able to visit Mount Vernon at an earlier period.—From hence you can form as good a judgment of my wants as I can, of Hay.—

I am Your friend &c[a]

G° Washington.

P.S.

Enclosed is a Letter, and some certificates from Mr. Butler. —Let the letter be given to him; and if his distresses are truly represented, give him five or Six dollars;—or more if it appears that he merits them:—But tell him at the same time, his claim on me is no greater than on any other; and therefore not to think of establishing it.—And with respect to the school, I have nothing to do in providing Tutors for it.—

XCVII.

Philadelphia 3[d] April 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 27[th] ult°, with a Postscript of the 29[th], came duly to hand yesterday.—

As I have expectation that by the time this letter will have reached you, a Vessel from Liverpool called the Commerce, will have arrived at George Town with eight bushels of the field Pea ;—as much of the Chiccory as will sow four acres of land ;—and eight bushels of the Winter Vetch—for, and on my account, I request you to have the two first sowed as soon as you are able.[1]—By looking into some of the farming books I lent you, you will discover what quantity of the Pease to allow to the Acre.—If these sh[d] be silent, allow two bushels sowed broad cast :—at any rate do not give as much as the English husbandry directs, for the quantity allowed in that country (formerly at least) greatly exceeds ours.—I sent for as much Chiccory as would sow four acres of ground, but not mentioning whether in drils or broad cast, I am unable to give you any particular direction on this head ; and therefore must leave it to yourself to judge from the quantity of seed, whether it is designed for four acres broad cast, or four acres in drills that the seed is adequate to.—The Vetches must be secured in the Seed loft for fall sowing.—

If the Chiccory is as valuable for Soiling horses (that is giving it to them green) as I am told it is ; I think it would be desirable to allow a proportional quantity of it to each of the four farms ;—to be sown as convenient as may be to the Stables.—As you did not, in enumerating the different places in which Oats were to be sowed, mention any for the ground that was in Potatoes, near the quarter, at Mansion house ; I think, if it is yet unsown, it would be a good spot (or as much thereof as is necessary) to sow the Pease in :—and I see no reason why clover may not be sown with them, as well as with

[1] On the 22 May 1796 Washington sent through Mr. Pinckney, in London, his thanks to Lord Grenville (with whom the Jay Treaty had been negotiated), "for his politeness in causing a special permit to be sent to Liverpool for the shipment of two sacks of field peas, and the like quantity of winter vetches, which I had requested our Consul at that place to send me for seed, but which it seems could not be done without an order from the government."

Oats.—If this ground should have been seeded already—sow them wherever you please; and with as little delay as possible.—Do the same with the Chiccory, as the Season is getting late—and if it continues dry they will come to nothing without.

In one of my letters, I mentioned planting the vacant ground in the Corn field, at Mansion H°, with Corn, along with the New ground;—but in my next letter, I suggested the idea of putting it in Oats, to avoid letting the other part lying waste, or the expence of a fence.—But I leave it to you to do what you think best, or rather what you are able to accomplish.—My plan always was, and always will be, to attempt no more than can be executed *well.* And this made me desirous of cultivating all the New ground; being well convinced that it will soon be as bad as ever, if the roots and sprouts are not destroyed by this means.—

In one of your late letters, speaking of the damage done by the Wind, you mentioned its having blown down many Trees:—it did not occur to me at that time, that this might have happened to the Trees in the yards, gardens, or Lawns.—If this was the case, I hope they were set up again.—

If the locust Posts for the circle, are ready, let them be put up.—And if you should sell the flour on the terms I have mentioned, take care that the payment is well secured.—

Mr. Minor has recommended a Mr. Darnes,[1] as a Tenant, whom he thinks would preserve my land near Alexandria from the Tresspasses it undergoes; and I have, in the enclosed letter (left open for your perusal) requested him to put the said Darnes on.—Let the letter be sent to him that he may certainly get it. (And let Mr. Darnes have the field you speak of, and more ground if necessary, to put a house on.—But make your agreement with him in writing; that there may be no mistakes.—I should not incline to give him

[1] Mr. George Minor and Mr. Darnes were both overseers of the poor.

a surety of the place for more than 5, 6 or 7 yrs—for the rest I care not.)

Unless I rent my Farms, and I have very little expectation of doing it, for the next year, I shall be indifferent about renting my Mill; unless tempted by a good price:—but without letting this be known you may learn from Mr. Gill what his friend, or any other, would give for her, for the term of years I have offered her.—

Let me know the exact size of the Chimney in the New room, at the Mansion house;—that is, how wide at the front, and at the back, and how deep at the sides;—and whether the sides are of Marble.—Let me know also how far the chimney piece projects from the plaistering above it;—whether there is a middle part that projects more than the rest;—how much, and the width of it, &ca; and what the whole length of the chimney piece at top is, from side to side or end to end.—

I am your friend and well wisher

Go Washington.

XCVIII.

Mr. Pearce,

If Mrs. Green and her family are really in distress, afford them some relief;—I cannot say to what amount, because that depends upon the nature and extent of it.—But in my opinion it had better be in anything than money, for I very strongly suspect that all that has, and perhaps all that will be given to her in that article, is applied more in rigging herself, than in the purchase of real and useful necessaries for her family.—To aid her in this way is not my intention—but you will, from enquiry, know what her real situation is, and govern yourself thereby.—

If She cannot support her children she ought to bind them

to good Masters and Mistresses, who will learn them Trades and do that justice by them which the Law directs.

I am Yours &c[a]

G[o] Washington.

4[th] April 1796.

[Enclosed]

Alexandria March 23, 1796.

Sir,

I am sorry that I have to trouble you once more in craving your Assistance but my Situation and Distress is such as induces me to intrude on your Generosity Myself and Children have been for some time sick and still continue so; if you please consider my Distress and helplessness and send me what relief you may please to think proper your past kindness to me gives me a hope that you will still Regard the petition of your Hum[b] Ser[t]

Sarah Green.—

XCIX.

Philadelphia 10[th] April 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 3[d] instant, with the Weekly reports, was received yesterday; and I have also seen Mr. Lear, who arrived here yesterday about the same time.—

As there is no prospect from the last European accounts (down to the first of March) of Peace; but on the contrary, every appearance of a vigorous prosecution of the War—at least for another Campaign—and they speak (tho' flour is low in some parts) of a *general* scarcity, and rise of it in others;—particularly in London:—I am not under the smallest apprehension of getting fifteen dollars p[r] barrel for mine, even at a shorter credit than Six months; but as I wish to have it off my hands, as the warm weather is coming on, which may occasion it to sour, besides being liable to other

accidents, I consent to your selling it to Mr. Smith for fifteen dollars on a credit of Six months; provided he will give a negociable note, with a good Endorser, on the Bank of Alexandria.—But, as there will have been a lapse of time between the conversation you had with Mr. Smith's Clerk, and the receipt of this letter, it would be prudent, before you offer him the flour on the above terms, to sound, and to discover from him, whether he is still disposed and authorised to make such a contract.—and if he is,—or if Mr. Smith himself sh[d] be returned from New York (which I think highly probable) to see if you could not sell it to him at a shorter credit; but if you cannot, then, and in that case, to dispose of it at a credit of Six months for fifteen doll[rs] per barrel.—get rid of the midlings and Ship stuff also—that the whole may be off your hands.

I am sorry to hear that the only rain (and that a light one) which you have had of late, should be attended with such high and destructive winds to your fences.—I fear your Overseers do not see that the fences are well made, by their meeting with such frequent accidents.—The winds have been very high here also, but the same disasters have not resulted from them.—

You have either misunderstood me, or I must have expressed myself very odly about the Jacks, for I never had any idea of parting with more than one of them; and left, or intended to leave it, to you and Peter, to determine whether that one should be Compound, or the Knight of Malta;[1] not intending to use the young Jack at all, this season; or if any, at least very sparingly.—As the Season is now, or soon will be far spent, you had better part with neither; unless one of them is actually gone, or engaged to go to Mr. Lewis.—

Keep a little good Hay for my horses, as I should prefer

[1] The grand name was probably given by Peter, a negro who supervised Washington's stud, and of whom he once wrote that he (Peter) seemed "to regard it as a degradation to attend to horses of plebean birth."

old to new for them,—and may, tho' I do not expect it, be at Mt. Vernon before June.—

I hope the Gardener tried the Graffs altho' the Season was late, as they were of a peculiar kind of Apple.

I wish the end may be better, than you represent the beginning, of your fishery to be; as continual bad seasons would be discouraging.—I am

Your friend

G° Washington.

C.

Philadelphia 17th April 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 10th inst[t] with a Postscript three days later, came to hand in due course of Post.—

I am sorry to hear that Maria continues unwell—and that Charles Washington[1] was siezed with a fever: Let them want for nothing, and whenever it is needful, get Doct[r] Craik to attend them.—

It would be unlucky, as my crop of Wheat last year turned out but indifferently, and the prospect of a good one this year, bad; if I should have missed the best Market for flour. —If there ever was *good* cause for flour's selling for fifteen dollars per barrel, hitherto; there is none, that I know of, for the fall in the price of this article now; for all accounts from Europe agree, that the Crops of Wheat are very short, and the apprehensions of the Want of bread, great.—Under these circumstances I am at a loss to what to ascribe the reduced price, and therefore will keep mine up for the price mentioned in my last; until I have better evidence than appears to me at present, for this fall.—but authorise you, as I did in my last, to take Mr. Smiths offer, if you cannot obtain better terms.

If a good occasion offers, I will make some enquiry of Mr.

[1] A negro.

Christie into the character of Mr. Joseph Gallop, and his brothers;—not that I expect there is any chance of agreeing with them; first, because I do not want the Land and Negros to go together.—and 2^{dly} because 2000 bushels of Wheat p^{r} ann. for River farm is very little more for the land, Negros and Stock, than what I ask for the land alone; as there is 1207. acres within the present fences, of ploughable ground. —I knew, that by fixing the Rent in Wheat (while it bore so high a price) would make it appear high;—but I believe no reasonable person expects, when Peace is established, that it will, be more than a dollar.—and if it was more, that the trouble or expence in raising it would be greater.—Besides, as Wheat is a staple article, it will be the standard or regulating price of other articles: and is equal and just, for both Landlord and Tenant; for otherwise, if instead of a bushel and half of Wheat p^{r} acre, I was to set a dollar and half, and the former should rise, by degrees, to 25/; and other things (which I might have occasion to buy) in proportion; a money rent, under such circumstances, would be ruinous to *me;* on the other hand, if it was at £5. p^{r} Bushel, the Rent (for the reason already mentioned, namely, that it costs the Tenant no more to raise it) would not be oppressive to him; and even if it were to be bo^{t} if the price of a Cow, a sheep, or a hog bore a proportionate price, the difficulty in paying for it would not be greater than if it was at 6/. and the price of other articles was governed thereby.—

Are all the repairs to the Mansion and other houses completed?—If the windows in the Corn and hay lofts, over the stables, and on the back side, are not put in, I request they may be; as both lofts and Stables wants Air exceedingly.—

If Mr. Robt^{t} Lewis has not been to M^{t} Vernon, keep the enclosed until his arrival—but if he has been there and gone let it go to the Post Office.—

I am Your fr^{d} &c^{a}

G^{o} Washington.

CI.

Philadelphia 24th April 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

I am sorry to find by your letter of the 17th instant, accompanying the reports of the preceeding week, that the drought continued; and that the prospect for good crops of small grain was so unpromising.—I should hope, however, that they cannot be so much injured yet, as not to be recovered by seasonable weather.—If the grain stands sufficiently thick on the ground, I shall not regard the backwardness of it, occasioned by the want of rain;—running much into straw is no service to the grain.—I had flattered myself (until your letter was received) that the fine rain which fell in these parts on Saturday the 16th instant had extended to you.—The alteration occasioned by it, both in grain and grass in the neighbourhood of this city, is very great indeed.—

I wish, as your prospect for grain is discouraging, that it may, in a degree, be made up in a good fishing season for Herrings;—that for Shad, must, I presume, be almost, if not quite over.—

As I can see no permanent cause for the fall, in the price of flour, and believe it will rise again; I am not, at this time at least, disposed to take less for mine than has been mentioned in my former letters to you:—but continue to advise me, always, of the Alexandria price of this article; that I may know better how to govern myself.—

I expected Mr. Robert Lewis's collection would have amounted to more than £169.17.6—and the promised draught for forty pounds, which you had not, at the time of writing, received.—This, and other money, except for current expences, had better be deposited in the Bank of Alexandria, as a place of security; and from whence it can be drawn when wanted.

Since the receipt of your letter of the 10th, I have seen Mr.

Hughs, to whom Joseph Gallop and his brothers are tenants, on Spesusa Island.—He speaks of them in favorable terms; as honest, industrious men, and good farmers.—But it is somewhat extraordinary that the one who was with you, should entertain an idea of giving no more than 2000 bushels of Wheat as a rent for River farm, with all the Negros and Stock thereon; when, for 450 acres *only*, (about the half of Spesusa Island, for Mr. Hughs says they have no more ground tho'. they are allowed the use of the Marsh for their Cattle to run upon) they pay him annually 1200 bushels of Wheat and 1500 bushels of Indian Corn:—and before these men had it, the same part rented for 30/. p^{r} Acre.—This, reckoning two bushels of Indian Corn for one of Wheat, makes 1950 bushels of the latter, or more than four bushels of it to the acre; without labourers, or stock of any kind furnished by him.—It is true that the Land on the Island is good, and there is an advantage in the Marsh, as a range; but these are far short of compensating for the difference between Six pecks of wheat, which is all I ask as rent p^{r} acre for mine, and 17½ pecks which (allowing 2 bush^{ls} of Corn for one of wheat) he gets for his.—I fixed mine at a moderate rent because I wanted to induce good farmers to settle thereon—and would wish to see them thrive; which would enable them to do justice to, and improve the premises; which will be a primary object with me.—

What prospect have you for fruit this year?—Has it sustained any injury yet from the frosts?—Have you altered the fields N^{o} 2 and 3 at Dogue-run, agreably to the line of stakes set up while I was last at home.—Is your Lucern seed sown?—and how does that, the Chiccory, and Clover seed come up.—

I am glad to hear that Maria and Charles have got well again.—

I wish you health and am

Your friend

G^{o} Washington.

CII.

Philadelphia May 1st 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 24th ult° has been received, and I am sorry to find by it that the drought still continued with you.—On this day week there was a very good rain here, and on Wednesday following a great deal fell; but the weather has been windy, cold and disagreeable ever since:—notwithstanding which, the Grain and grass in these parts look extremely well.—

I am glad to find that you were, at the date of your letter, so near the completion of Corn-planting; and hope, if you have had the late rains, that it will have come up well, for I think this happens best when it is planted dry, and rains come after.—

I wrote you on friday last (and put the letter under cover to Mr. Lear) informing you, that the Seeds were arrived at last; at George Town:—and expressing an earnest wish that the Peas and Chiccory might be got into the ground as soon as possible and that the Peas, as they were of two distinct sorts—might be seperately, and distinctly sown.—I wished also, that the Chiccory might be sown as convenient to the Stables at the different farms, as fit ground could be obtained; as it was designed to be cut and fed green to the work horses.—The Winter vetch must be carefully preserved till Autumn, as that is the season for sowing it.

I am sorry to find that flour continues to depreciate in price; but the present cause for this is, the dispute in the House of Representatives respecting the provisions for carry [ing] the British Treaty into effect; which has, for sometime past, occasioned a suspension in purchasing, shipping, and the Insurance of all sorts of property: but as the discussion is now brought to a close, it is to be hoped, and expected, that mat-

ters will recover their former tone again.[1]—At any rate, I will risque there getting worse, rather than take the present Alexandria price for my flour:—but I repeat what I have said in former letters, that I will take 15 dollars, at 6 months credit.—

By a letter which I received from Mr. Rob^{t} Lewis (dated in Alexandria, the 21st of last month) he informs me that he had left for, and on my acc^{t}, in the hands of Mess^{rs} Bennett & Watts, of that place, the Sum of Forty pounds; which it would be proper you should receive, and place it with the sum he paid into your own hands.

I am surprized to find by the Reports so few calves produced from my stock.—Does it proceed from indifferent Bulls, or the Want of them.—Be it either, or from any other cause, a remedy should be applied.—And I wish the same with respect to the Rams, as the number of my Lambs are not equal to what they formerly were.

I would have you again stir up the pride of Cyrus; that he may be the fitter for my purposes against I come home; sometime before which (that is as soon as I shall be able to fix on the time) I will direct him to be taken into the house, and clothes to be made for him.—In the meanwhile, get him a strong horn comb and direct him to keep his head well combed, that the hair, or wool may grow long.—I wish you well and

am Your friend

G^{o} Washington.

---

[1] The Jay Treaty conditionally ratified by the Senate, and signed by the President, had been amended and exchanged in London, without further submission to the Senate for ratification of the same in its altered form. This doubtful procedure, and the offensiveness of the Treaty itself to the Representatives, caused an effort in their House to defeat the Treaty by refusing the means necessary for carrying it into effect. The President insisted that the House had no choice in the matter, and a serious collision was escaped only by a surrender on the part of the Representatives. This doctrine was repudiated by Jefferson (Letter to Giles, 31 Dec. 1795) and the republicans.

P. S.

By a Vessel which says she will sail from hence to Alex[a] on Wednesday next, I shall send two doz[n] Windsor Chairs which the Capt[n] has promised to land as he passes Mount Vernon.—Let them be put in the New Room.—

CIII.

Philadelphia 8[th] May 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

I am glad to find by your letter of the first instant, that the rain w[ch] fell here on the 27[th] ult[o] had extended to you.—The cold and drying Winds I knew would deprive the plants of some of its good effects; but benefit must have resulted to them notwithstanding.—If the frosts which accompanied those Winds have injured the fruit (as you fear) it will be a circumstance much to be regret[d] altho' not to be avoided.—

I wish you had sowed all the Peas as soon as they were received (as the gr[d] was prepared) altho' the season was far advanced, and the Books spoke of February as the proper period for depositing this Crop in the ground.—They may not come up another year; but admitting they would do it, and it shall be found that they are A Crop worth cultivating, your prospect for getting into a good stock of seed would have been better by sowing the whole quantity, than an Acre only, and keeping the residue of the Seed until next Spring.—Indeed, dry as the weather has been with you, it is a question whether sowing at the time you did was not better than to have done it a month sooner; especially as it is to be hoped that the fine rains which fell here on thursday night and all day friday were general.—No alteration, or addition to what you have already done can take place after this letter gets to hand, with either Peas or Chiccory, as the Spring will be too far advanced.

If the clover seed which you sowed did not vegitate, and

perish with the drought, it is to be hoped it may yet come to something.—It will be unfortunate if it should not; more so on acc^{t} of the want of the Crop than on acc^{t} of the high price of the seed though both are bad enough.—

Did you begin your lane at Dogue-run at the 2^{d} gate, next the Overseers house, or at the outer gate, so as to extend it across the Meadow?—The last if you had had time, would have been best on two accounts;—first by throwing that meadow into two divisions—and 2^{dly} by making both more secure;—for the gates being often left open Hogs and other things are frequently getting in and doing injury; and besides, having space enough, the Carts are cutting different tracts which form new gullies; w^{ch} would not, nor cannot be the case in a lane.—

Let me know the amount of your receipts for Fish sold.—I do not want the particulars, but the aggregate sum of what they have fetched, or will fetch, when the money is all received.

If an acc^{t} was kept of the times my Coach Mares went to the Jack—particularly when those called Nancy and the blind Mare, were covered, let me know it in your next letter.—The two whose names are mentioned I am pretty sure are with foal, and I want to know at what time it may be expected they will bring them, that I may regulate their movem^{ts} on the Road to Mount Vernon.—

It is expected that Congress will rise between the 20th and last of this month.—But admitting the fact, it is impossible for me, at this time, to say precisely when I shall be at Mount Vernon.—I wish you well and am

Your friend

G^{o} Washington.

P. S.

Mrs. Washington sends a memorandum enclosed which I pray you to have attention given to.—

CIV.

Philadelphia 15th May 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 8th, with the Reports, are at hand;—and I am glad you sowed all the Peas (except the small reserve mentioned in your letter) and the Chiccory; as I think it better than withholding them, until next Seed time.—I am glad also that you have got your flour off hand (as warm weather and accidents were against keeping it longer) altho' I am convinced that if I had held it up a month or two longer, I could have obtained a better price;—or an any rate the same price on a much shorter credit.—Deliver it as soon as possible for two reasons.—first, to be exonerated from risque, by fire or otherwise;—and 2dly that the day of payment may not be prolonged, by the detention of it in your possession.—

I am sorry to hear you speak of no more than *showers* of Rain!—On friday the 6th instant it rained here, and throughout the whole of this country, from before six in the morning, until after seven in the evening without ceasing; and in the best manner possible; and showers have fallen since.—Such weather if it had extended to you although it has been a little cool, must have changed the face of everything with you; and would have brought on the Oats, Peas and grass seeds of all kinds, finely, as it has done here.

I do not, now, know where to advise you to get supplied with good Rams, unless Mr. Gough (near Baltimore) has them for sale.—He imports both cattle and sheep, and is curious I am told in the Breed of them, and sells their descendants high.—But this ought not to deter you from the purchase of (at least) one good Ram, to go to a score or more of your choicest ewes.—from such an experiment and beginning, you might, by the year following, have Rams enough

for the whole flock.—This method I pursued some years ago to the very great advancement of my breed of sheep.—

If Mr. Darnes is a man in whose integrity and activity full reliance can be placed, and he will agree to watch, diligently, in order to prevent the depredations which are aimed at my land on four mile run,[1] I will give him a surety of living thereon Rent free during *his* life; and the priviledge of clearing a small, but defined quantity there-of:—and an agreement conformably to these ideas, you may enter into with him as soon as you please;—and the sooner the better.—

To What height, has Davis raised the Walls of the Barn at River Farm?—Does he raise the shed Walls at the same time?—If not, the work will not appear so well united, even with pains and proper attention; and without them, they will have a disjointed look.—Do you frame the inside upon the same plan as that of Union farm?—I think I directed it to be done so, but cannot speak with certainty.—

Let the house in the upper Garden, called the School house, be cleaned and got in order against I return;—Glass put in the windows if wanted;—and a lock on the door.—I cannot yet say with certainty when I shall be able to visit Mount Vernon, but *hope* it will be by, or before the midle of June.—Have good meats ready for us by that time; and tell the Gardener I shall expect an abundance of every thing in the Gardens;—and to see every thing in prime order there, and in the Lawns.

I am with best wishes
Your friend
G° Washington.

Paschal seems to be pretty regularly reported sick, Six days in the Week.—What is the matter with him?

---

[1] Appendix F.

CV.

Philadelphia 22^{d} May 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 15th inst^{t}, enclosing the Reports of the preceeding Week, came duly to hand.—

I am glad to hear that the weather has been seasonable of late; but sorry indeed, to find by your letter that the grain and grass has received so little benefit from the rains which have fallen, here, in great abundance.—And it is peculiarly unfortunate after giving so high a price for Clover Seed, that it should either not have come up, or been destroyed afterwards, by the droughts.—Has your Corn come up well, and how does it thrive?—And how does the Oats—Peas—Chicory—and other things which have been sown, and planted this Spring come on?—

It is much to be regretted, and I do regret exceedingly, that the Honey locusts which have been set out, should have perished.—It would seem I think as if I never should get forward in my plan of hedging.—With respect to the transplanting of Cedar (or any other evergreen) I am persuaded there is no other sure way of getting them to live, than by taking them up in the winter with a block of frozen earth around the Roots (and as large as it can conveniently be obtained—proportioned to the size of the plant).—This not only gives them their mother earth, but by its adhesion to the principal roots, it nourishes the body until the fibres from the former shoot sufficiently to secure the vegitation and thriftiness of the plant.—I transplanted thousands of Pine and Cedar without getting scarcely one to live until I adopted the above method; after which, so long as it was practised, I never lost one.—Witness the pine groves by the Gardens; both of which were planted in this manner, and to the best of my recollection not one of them died:—whereas, out of the

first planting, just as they now are, not more than two or three of them lived.—

I am very sorry indeed to hear of the damage which the family piece of the Marquis de la Fayette has sustained.—and am unable to account for it.—If the window shutters had been left open, I should have attributed it more to the sun, than to the dryness of the Air.

Ask Peter, if some of the Mares w^{ch} I took down with me, when I went alone to Mount Vernon in April of last year, did not go to the Jack at that time?—If they did not, their foaling will be much about the time I shall be on the Road which will be unfortunate.—

For what purpose is the Well house from the Mansion, carried to Union Farm?—Save a plenty of the best Hay of last year for my horses, as I had rather they should be fed upon old, than the Hay of this season, when I come home.—

I am Your friend

G^{o} Washington.

CVI.

Philadelphia 29th May 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

No Mail beyond Baltimore (Southerly) was received at the Post Office in this City yesterday;—consequently, I got no letter from you;—what may have been the cause I know not, unless the considerable falls of rain which happened here during last week, may have rendered the waters between Alexandria and Baltimore (if they extended so far) impassible.—

You have never mentioned in any of your late letters, nor has it occurred, at the time of writing mine, to ask, whether a Pipe of Wine, and box of Tea, which was sent from this place for Mount Vernon, had arrived, and in what condition. —It was in March, or the beginning of April they left this—

And another Vessel with Windsor Chairs and sundry other articles for the same place, have been gone from hence long enough to have heard of their arrival 'ere this.—These occurrences ought always to be noticed in your letters, to relieve one from the suspence which otherwise follows.—Before we leave this, we shall send several other matters round, but whenever they are shipped you shall have notice thereof that they may be taken from Alexandria so soon as they arrive there;—at which time procure a groce of good Porter to be taken down along with them.—In the mean time, have a few Bottles of Porter there, and some wine for particular company, who may be *particularly* recommended to you by myself:—among these Mr. Aimes,[1] a respectable member of Congress (travelling for his health) will, I expect, be one; as he proposes to set out from hence for the Federal City about the middle of this week, and is one I wish to be well treated, while he stays.—I have requested Mr. Lear to shew him the way down to Mount Vernon.

Is Maria and the two boys at that place now, or where are they?—No mention has been made of them for some time.—When (from present appearances) will your early Wheat be ready to cut?—and how does that, and the other small grain, Peas, and grasses come on?—What was done with the Seed saved from the India Hemp last Summer?—It ought, *all* of it, to have been sown again;—that not only a stock of seed sufficient for my own purposes might have been raised, but to have dissiminated the seed to others; as it is more valuable than the common Hemp.—

Congress talk of rising about the middle of this week; but there is no dependance on it.—In about ten or twelve days

[1] Fisher Ames (1756–1808) of Massachusetts; served in Congress 1789–1797; author of the Address of the House to Washington on his retirement from the presidency. The speech of Ames in favor of the appropriation for the British Treaty probably secured the majority of three by which it passed the House.

after the Session closes, it is likely I shall commence my journey homewards:—as soon as I can fix the day, I will advise you of it.—

I have several times spoke concerning a necessary for the Quarter People, at Mansion house; and once or twice shewed Thomas Green the precise spot to place it—viz—in the drain that leads from the old brick kiln back of the Well, towards the gully leading towards the gate;—that, having this advantage the offensive matter might be washed off by the Rain water that collects in the gutter.—I wish you would have this done before Ive come home that the yard of the Quarter may be always clean and Sweet.—If the old necessary on the brow of the Hill can be moved with more ease than building a new one, let it be done, as it is not only useless where it is, but is an eyesore.—Order the other two to be well cleaned and kept in good order.—During my stay at Mount Vernon I expect much company there, and of the most respectable sort, it would be pleasing to us therefore to find everything in nice order.—

I wish you well and am your friend

G° Washington.

CVII.

Philadelphia 5th June 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

Since my last I have received your letters of the 22d and 29th of last month.—The first came to hand on Tuesday, the other on Saturday, as usual.—

On Wednesday last Congress closed their Session; but there is yet a good deal for me to do, before I can leave the Seat of the Government.—My present expectation however is, that I shall be able to do this on tomorrow week: but as this is not certain, and as I shall travel slow, to avoid what usually happens to me at this season—that is—killing, or

knocking up a horse; and as we shall, moreover, stay a day or two at the Federal City, it is not likely we shall arrive at Mount Vernon before the 20th, or 21st of this month.—

In a few days after *we* get there, we shall be visited, I expect, by characters of distinction; I could wish therefore that the Gardens, Lawns, and every thing else, in, and about the Houses, may be got in clean and nice order.—If the Gardener needs aid, to accomplish as much of this as lyes within his line, let him have it; and let others rake, and scrape up all the trash, of every sort and kind about the houses, and in holes and corners, and throw it (all I mean that will make dung) into the Stercorary and the rest into the gullied parts of the road, coming up to the House.—And as the front gate of the Lawn (by the Ivies) is racked, and scarcely to be opened, I wish you would order a new one (like the old one) to be immediately made—and that, with the new ones you have just got made, and all the boarding of every kind that was white before, to be painted white again.—If Neal and my own people cannot make the front gate, above mentioned, get some one from Alexandria to do it—provided he will set about and finish it immediately.—This must be the way up to the House.—

Let the Rooms in the Servants Hall, above and below, be well cleaned; and have the Beds and bedsteads therein put in order; after which have a good lock put on the door of the west room, above, and order Caroline, or whoever has the charge of those rooms, to suffer no person to sleep, or even to go into it, without express orders from her Mistress or myself.—Let exactly the same things be done with the Rooms over the Kitchen; as there will be a white Cook with us that will require one of them; and the other may also be wanted for some other Servants, or use. it being likely, there will be a call for all these places and things.—And I hope, especially as there is no Ice to keep fresh meats, that you will have an abundant supply for the demands that will probably be made

thereon during our stay at home.—And besides, will ascertain from the Butcher in Alexandria, the stated days on which Beef and Veal are killed, that we may know what dependence to place on him.—Tell the Gardener, I shall expect everything that a Garden ought to produce, in the most ample manner.—

There may be many other things necessary to be done, as well for appearance as use, that do not occur to me at this mom^t^ but as you can judge from what I have said, what my wishes are, I have no doubt but that you will contribute all you can to accomplish them; and give the *whole* as neat, and clean an appearance as they are capable of.—

About the time you were employing a Joiner to do the North end of the House, I directed Venetian blinds to be made, and painted green, for all the windows on the West side of the House; and mentioned the manner in w^ch^ I thought it best to execute them:—but have never been informed what, or whether any thing has been done in consequence of it. The omitting to give information of what *has*, or what *cannot* be done in consequence of such requests, often throws me into a disagreeable suspence, and frequently occasions me to write often on the same subjects.—I am equally ignorant whether the dormant windows are yet put into the stable, and Corn lofts; both of which, for the purpose of Air, is indispensably necessary; besides adding to the appearance of the building.—

Take care to keep a sufficiency of Oats, and the best of your old Hay on hand. I shall have eight or ten horses of my own *with me*, and there will be *many others* with Visitors.—

You had better, I conceive, get the Midlings and Ship-stuff off your hands at what they will fetch; as the weather is getting warm, and the flour may turn Sower.—Unless you want the money for current expences, it might be sold on such a credit as to receive payment on the same day your demand

upon Smith, for the other flour, will become due: so as to have the whole at once.—This credit may enhance the price, and will be (if the money is not wanted for the purposes before mentioned) no disadvantage to me in giving it.—

I hope, at your last shearing, there was a complete cull, and seperation of all the old, scabby and disordered Sheep.—I do not know how to account for the weekly loss you sustain, in this species of Stock, unless it be by keeping such poor and diseased sheep in the flocks as contaminate others.—

I have no doubt but that you will endeavor so to arrange matters, as to keep your grain, and Hay harvests from interfering as much as possible with each other; and this too without either suffering, by standing too long, if it can possibly be avoided.—Begin the former as soon as it can be cut without loss.—

If Miss Nelly Custis[1] should apply to you for a Cart to Transport her Trunk and other things from Doctor Stuarts to Mount Vernon—let it be sent as soon as applied for, and something to cover and secure the contents against Rain—in case any should fall while they are on the Road.—

I perceive Mrs. Washington's Mem^{m} herewith sent contains nearly the same requests that are made in this letter—but I send it notwithstanding.—

I wish you well and am

Your friend

G^{o} Washington.

P. S.

Direct your next letter to me, to be left at the Post Office in Baltimore till called for.—If I set off according to my present expectation, I shall, probably lodge in that Town on

---

[1] Mrs. George Washington's granddaughter, whose marriage with the General's nephew, Lawrence Lewis (his only sister's son), 22 Feb. 1799, made the romance of Washington's last years. Washington (who adopted her on her father's death, when she was a child) was much attached to her.

thursday Night;—which is the Night the Mail of that day from Alexandria reaches that place.[1]—

CVIII.

Philadelphia 5th Septr 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 31st of Augt from Chester Town, came duly to hand; but as you did not acknowledge the receipt of the one I wrote you from hence, this day week, I presume it had not got to hand;—Owing, I conceive to a misapprehension of mine as to the time of closing the Mail for the Eastern shore which I find is an hour and an half earlier than those which go Southerly or Easterly.—I put my letter under cover to the Postmaster in Chester Town with a request to forward it to Mount Vernon if you should have left that place.—

As you appear (by your letter above mentioned) to have attended to most of the matters which were recommended in mine, your not receiving it at Chester Town was not very material.—

By my letters from Mount Vernon I find the weather up to the date of them has continued extremely wet—of course Seeding must have gone on slowly, if not badly.—

---

[1] On June 26, Washington wrote from Mount Vernon to his nephew, Robert Lewis: "We arrived at this place on Monday last, where it is probable I shall remain till the middle of August, when public business will require *my* attendance in Philadelphia, until towards the end of September. I shall then return to this place again for Mrs. Washington, with whom, in the latter part of October, I shall make my last journey, to close my public life the 4th of March; after which no consideration under heaven, that I can foresee, shall again withdraw me from the walks of private life." "My house, I expect, will be crowded with company all the while we shall be at it, this summer, as the ministers of France, Great Britain, and Portugal, in succession, intend to be here—besides other strangers." (The new French Minister was M. Adet; and the British Minister, Mr. Liston, —the same that stole Arthur Lee's papers in Berlin during the Revolution.)

Washington Custis[1] writes me that Mr. Stuart, at the River farm was very ill of a fever, on thursday last.—I hope it will not prove a fatal one, and thereby add to your present difficulties in providing *good* Overseers.—If Scoon is a *first rate* Overseer, I had rather give him £75 Maryland curr^{y} than run the risk of getting an indifferent one; especially if he can bring another whom *you know* to be a good one, along with him; although the wages of that other should exceed 133⅓ dollars.—I do not know what Violet's and Cash's present wages are, I did not care to increase it with them (although they may be industrious men) as they c^{d} have no plea to ask higher wages for the year to come, than for the year past.—Men who are old, experienced, and of established reputation and skill, have better ground to stand upon, than they.—

Washington [Custis] in his letter mentioned further that the Weavil was very much in Stuarts Wheat.—If this is really the case, it is much to be regretted, but there is no other remedy but to get it out as quick as possible;—and as he has no place to keep it securely in the Chaff,—to grind it up with all the dispatch the Mill is capable.—He said something also about one of the Bolting cloths being out of order, or unfit for use—this will require attention.—

Write me by the first Post (fridays) after you get this letter, how every thing is, and going on; for if I can accomplish the business which bro^{t} me here, I hope by Wednesday, or thursday in next week, to leave this, on my return to Mount Vernon.—I wish you well and am Your friend

G^{o} Washington.

---

[1] George Washington Parke Custis, Mrs. Washington's grandson, adopted by Washington, on the death of his father, John Parke Custis, in 1781. Washington Custis (1781–1857) wrote "Recollections and Private Memoirs of Washington." He married Mary Lee Fitzhugh of Chatham, Stafford Co., near Fredericksburg and these were the grandparents of Gen. Robert E. Lee.

CIX.

Philadelphia 11th Sep. 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 4th instt came to my hands yesterday, and the one you wrote me from Chester Town has also been received.—My last would have informed you of the reason, which, probably, prevented your receiving a former one at that place, but which I expect has got to hand ere this; as the Postmaster was requested, in case you had left it, to send it by the Mail to Alexandria.

As your letter says very little with respect to the situation of Matters on the Farms, I have the less to say in answer to it.—But wish that the Wheat may be sown as soon as possible;—but not faster than the ground can be put in good Order for its reception; especially for that which was sent by Mr. Lewis.—

Having made no mention of Stuart, I hope he has got well again; from the Tenor of Washington's letter, I began to apprehend he was in danger.—As you have said nothing concerning the Fly, in your stacks, I hope his account in this respect also was more the effect of his fears, than of accurate examination; but let it be closely attended to;—for neither interest nor policy will suffer a Crop *made*, to be lost, in order to prepare for another which a thousand accidents may destroy before it gets into the Barn: and when, possibly, and even probably, the price may be lower than it is at present by 50 pr Ct.—This, supposing no danger from the fly, is a strong reason for grinding up—and selling the flour before the Market is glutted with this article, from Wheat of this years growth.—

Do not let the proper Season escape you, for sowing the Winter Vetch—I should conceive it ought not to be much longer delayed.—But among the Books you have, of mine, it

is probable the precise time, and quantity of Seed to the Acre, may be mentioned.—Let these be attended to;—and unless the directions are given in some authors of modern date, be more sparing of your seed than is mentioned by them.[1]—I recollect a year or two ago to have sent some rape Seed to Mount Vernon, but do not recollect what has been the result of it:—but particular care ought always to be paid to these kind of Seeds as they are, generally, given to me, because they are valuable—rare,—or curious.—

I hope you have received favorable answers from the persons you were in treaty with on the Eastern Shore.—It is very interesting to me, at all times, to have good Overseers; but may be particular so next year.—Did you receive any benefit from Doct^r^ Perkins's Metallic application.—which, possibly ought to be repeated and continued for some time.—I wish you well and am

Your friend

G^o^ Washington.

CX.

Federal City, 26^th^ Oct. 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

Cyrus was obliged to come on to this place, in order to take the horses back, which Mr. Frestal and Mr. Lafayette[2] rode, which is the cause of his delay.—

Mrs. Washington desires me to inform you that there was some Butter left in the Cellar, and some Beef in a Tub which (after supplying James) may be applied to any uses you think proper.—

---

[1] Appendix L.

[2] Son of the Marquis, Mr. Frestal being his tutor. On his father's imprisonment at Olmütz young Lafayette came to America and sought Washington's protection. In view of the excitement of the anti-French party, Washington confided the youth to his friend, Colonel Hamilton, for a time; but he passed a year or two under Washington's roof in Philadelphia and Mount Vernon.

Let my Study be cleaned out, and the Room afterwards locked up.—Do not miss the opportunity of getting our Baggage, and James, round by the first Vessel to Philad[a]—taking a Bill of Lading for the several parcels, and sending it in a letter, that we may know when we get them All.—

When your family quit the house they are now in, and you remove to the Mansion, let Dinah and the other girl join the Mansion house people and Mrs. Washington may, afterwards chuse either for a Washer woman.—

Have the Earth removed from the stone quarry where I showed you—that Mr. Blagden may be able to examine it when he calls there.—

Let all the Saddles and Bridles that I have left at home be cleaned and locked up—or they will be hacked about, injured, and perhaps lost.—

The Mules for my Carriage—the two Colts from the Chariot Mares—and the one from the Augusta Mare must be well kept and attended to, till I come home.—I shall write you more fully as soon as I get to Philadelphia in the meanwhile I remain your friend &c[a]

G° Washington.

CXI.

Philadelphia 14[th] Nov[r] 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 6[th] was received (with the Reports) on Saturday;—but I do not clearly understand by it, whether James Wilkes re embarked with, or without a bed,—or is yet at Mount Vernon.—If the latter, he had better (if his health is sufficiently restored) offer himself to Mr. Law[1] as A Coachman; for before he could get here, and be well settled, I shall be making my arrangements to return to Virginia;

[1] An English gentleman, who married Elizabeth Parke Custis. (*Ante.*)

when I shall have no further occasion for hired Servants, unless to carry me there.—

I am extremely sorry that Mr. Alex^{r} Smith will not be able to take up his note when it becomes due.—I wish that may be the worst of it, notwithstanding the Language he makes his Book of Accounts speak.—However dangerous and inconvenient it is to me, to lye out of the money (for the reasons which were given to you in my last letter or Memorandum)—I have informed him in a note of this date, that I should direct you to make an estimate of the several sums which were wanting to pay of[f] every farthing that is due from me, before you go (which is my earnest desire) and that if he will give you unequivocal *surety* of paying you the aggregate amount of them, on, or before the 24th day of December, I would (however inconvenient it was to me) wait until the first day of March next for the balance;—Provided he would give indubitable *security* for the payment of both sums at the times above mentioned, with interest thereon, from the time his note becomes due.—

You will perceive I lay a stress upon the goodness of the Security, and the surety of payments.—I do it, because I know speculators (without meaning to apply the term to Mr. Smith, whose pursuits I am unacquainted with) may be men one day, and mice the next.—If he is a responsible character he can find no difficulty in giving the security required.—If he is not, the sooner I take effectual means to secure the debt, the less risk I run of loosing it.—

I hope Richmond was made an example of, for the Robbery he committed on Wilkes Saddle bags.—I wish he may not have been put upon it by his father (although I never had any suspicion of the honesty of the latter) for the purpose perhaps of a journey together.—This will make a watch, without its being suspected by, or intimated to them, necessary; nor w^{d} I have these suspicions communicated to any other lest it should produce more harm than good.

The drought here, is also very severe.—It is unlucky that I cannot get my Wheat ground into flour, on acc^{t} of the sale of it, and the fly also;—but the latter, I hope, is not very bad, or you would have mentioned it, that I might decide whether to await the operation of the Mill, or sell the grain unground, if it should appear to be in much danger.—

Did you get the Quarter at River farm removed without much difficulty, or injury?—and is it now, or soon will be, comfortable to its inhabitants?—Let that at Muddy-hole be made tight, if by patchwork only, as I am unwilling the people should suffer.—

As I wish to have Venetian blinds for *all* the Windows in the West front of the Mansion house—on the outside—I request you will give me the dimensions of the window frames, above and below;—and though Neal is not a competent judge of the manner of hanging them,—or precisely where the hooks should be drove, on which the venetian Shutters are to be hung—yet understanding that these hooks are to go as far back as there is solid wood to drive them into (the shutters being double, and coming together as they do at the front or West door.) he cannot be much at a loss to give the width, and height, of those in the first and second stories;—allowing them to cover as much of the frame on both sides, and at top, as the Mouldings will permit:—into which the hooks, on which the shutters hang, might be drove, if there be solid wood to receive them (for this is all important, otherwise the hooks would get loose, and be a constant plague);—the Shutters, or blinds would, in that case, go from moulding to moulding at the sides and at top.—The shutters which are now to the lower Windows will be to be taken away altogether. as two sets cannot be on the outside; and there is no place for them within.—I wish you well and am

Your friend

G^{o} Washington.

P. S.

If Mr. Smith cannot give unquestionable Personal security and has real property (unincumbered and) adequate thereto, you had better have me secured that way, and in time.—I pay but little regard to fair promises;—as I know that distressing times are coming upon the Merch^{ts} for their Speculat^{n}.

CXII.

Philadelphia 20th Nov^{r} 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 13th ins^{t}, and the Reports of the preceeding week, were received yesterday.—

I am sorry to hear that the growing Wheat is suffering for want of Rain—but hope you had some on Tuesday last (three days subsequent to the date of your letter).—If the fact however is otherwise, let the ground in which the Egyptian Wheat was deposited, be watered, and continued to be so until the Rains fall.—

I have no doubt but that the Causey through the Swamp would prove a pretty heavy job to execute the work in the manner I proposed;—but when so done—I shall have no plague with it thereafter;—and the other part will be much less tedious and laborious.—To form a judgment however of this matter, when the Causey is completed, work onwards towards the Mansion until you cross (or rather come to) the intended road leading from Muddy hole Barn.—Working thus far—as it will pass through as grubby ground as any there is in the whole road, you will be able to form a judgment of the time necessary for the completion of the whole;—and besides, after this junction is formed, there can be no mistake afterwards.—Let Davy know, and Mr. Anderson[1] also, that where the Road turns on the top of the Hill (South of the

[1] James Anderson succeeded Pearce as Superintendent at Mount Vernon.

Causey) the fence is to turn also; and run with the road until it strikes the line of the other fence, in which the Gate stands;—which fence is to be continued streight until the two meet, by the side of the Road.—

I expected the line of the Road, when extended back to the River, would have struck it nearer to Hell hole, by several hundred yards, than where Cupids house stood.—What sort of ground does it go over?—and, if you can form a judgment from your present view of it, would the River, or vessels passing thereon be seen in travelling along it from the Causey to the White Gates?—

I had no idea that Oznabrigs was scarce in Alexandria after the great Importations we had heard of;—or that the price c^d have been so high.—I will make enquiry into these matters here, and inform you of the result in my next;—as I shall also do ab^t Paints and Oil;—but when you spoke of White Lead ground in Oil being 24/. p^r Keg, you ought to have mentioned what the Keg contained, as they are of various sizes from 25. to 100 lbs weight.—

As Mr. Lear is very frequently at his farm, I wish you would consult him with respect to Mr. Alex^r Smiths circumstances; and the best mode of having the sum he owes me, and the payments, according to my last to you, *perfectly* secured.—I can run no risks in this matter;—the sum is too large to be trifled with;—and I am not one of those who place implicit confidence in strong assurances, or in outward appearances, unless they are corroborated by corresponding actions.—You might, at the same time, advise with him on the prices of Oznabrigs—Paints—Oil—Nails &c^a that I may decide in time whether to provide them here—or in that quarter.

I presume Mrs. Washington's Bed Chamber is the same pitch of the other rooms on that floor—but that I may be certain of it, I wish you would measure the height from the floor to the ceiling, and inform me thereof.—I request also

that you w^d^ let me know the *exact* width, and height (in front of the fire place) of the Chimney in the New di^g^-Room, that, if I should want to get a stopper (or chimney board) for it, as in some of the other rooms, I may be at no loss to fit one to it.—And with respect to the Cellar windows at the South end of the Mansion house, I did not, in my former request, describe, clearly, what I wanted—which was, to know how far it was from the top of the frame which is about the level of the brick pavement and projecting into it without, to the top—or within an inch of the top of the window frame.—This, and not the whole size of the frame, I wish now to know. (Is the f2–I7½ width, and f1–I2 height of the Cellar windows in front—the dimensions of the frame from out to out of it—or from in, to in?—Are the Stone Cills, at bottom of these window frames, wider than the wood frames thereon?—And how much?)

Order Peter to take good care of the three young (as well as the three covering) Jacks this Winter; and to feed them in such a manner as to keep them in very thriving order, that I may turn them to a good Account hereafter.—

I am Your friend

G° Washington.

P. S.

Let me know the size of the blue Parlour—that is the length and breadth of it—and how far it is from the hearth on each side to the sides of the Room that the size of the hearth may be taken out—the Carpet as it now is with the [torn]. The dimensions of the 4 sides must be sent also.

CXIII.

Philadelphia 27^th^ Nov^r^ 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 17^th^ under cover from Mr. Lear came duly to hand, as did the Weekly reports of the 19^th^ yesterday.—

I am disposed to let Mr. Smiths debt stand upon the security you have placed it—unless before the 24th of next month any circumstances should occur to render other measures necessary—or, on that day he should be unprepared to make payment and require further indulgence.—In either of these cases, it is my desire that you will consult with Mr. Lear and pursue effectual measures by requiring additional personal, or real Security, or both, to place my debt out of danger.—

As you mentioned nothing relative to the Farms in your last letter I have nothing to add in this but to request information, and answers to the queries contained in my last letters—and a wish, to know how the Winter grain and Vetches look, and How your Wheat and Corn is likely to yield.—

I am Your friend

G° Washington.

P. S.

In one of your letters, you mentioned, that you had recovered eleven dollars of Jas Kirks money, but do not say whether it was returned to him or not.—If it was not, give me credit for it, as he will be paid here.—

CXIV.

Philadelphia 4th Decr 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

Getting no letter from you by the Post of yesterday—nor receiving any account from home, leads me to conclude that something more than common has happened, as your last letter is dated the 17th of November.—

Hearing nothing of the state, in which my business is, for so long a time,—especially too as the weather, for the Season, has been severe—I have but little to found my letter upon at this time.—

Enclosed you have a bill of lading, and Invoice of Goods shipped on board of Captn Ellwood, on my account.—Let the Oil and paint be put into some secure Cellar, there to remain

until I come home;—and such of the Oznabrigs as is necessary for cloathing the people (most wanting) to be cut out and made up as fast as circumstances will permit.—In doing this, I beg every care and attention may be used to prevent waste or embezzlement in the Act of cutting out;—and by taking a list, to be left, of all who are served;—otherwise the same persons, if they thought they could succeed, would apply over and over again.—Give out but one roll of Oznabrigs at a time, and see how that is cut,—worked up,—and disposed of, before another piece is delivered.—How far the Gardeners wife, or Allisons wife is to be depended upon in a business of this sort, I know not;—but this I know, it is as little as either of them can do for the inconvenience I sustain by their living there, and the attendance they receive from my People.—

The enclosed letter to the Gardener, relative to the planting of shrubs, seal and deliver to him after you have read it;—and if such freezing weather should arrive, before your departure, as I have described, give him all the assistance you can to improve it; and in case it does not, let Mr. Anderson know what my wishes are respecting this matter.—I repeat to you my solicitude to have the Ice house prepared for, and *well* filled, and rammed, when Ice is formed.—It will be of immense importance to me when I get home.

I hope Frank has taken particular care of the Tarriers.—I directed him to observe when the female was getting into heat, and let her be immediately shut up; and no other than the male Tarrier get to her.—I wish you well, and am

Your friend

G° Washington.

CXV.

Philadelphia 11th Decr 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

Since my last to you was dispatched, I have received your letters of the 30th of Novr and 4th inst.—

I am sorry to hear that your Wheat begins to heat.—If it does this in a degree to do it much injury, it ought to be disposed of for the best price you can get;—but otherwise, as I have waited so long to grind it, and shall have occasion for the Bran, I had rather Manufacture it myself.—

It is a matter of astonishment to me, that the lower floor of the Barn at Dogue-Run has given way so soon.—How it was laid at first, being from home, I know not;—but if it had been extended according to my directions, and the end of the sleepers, by the tenons had rested on a Wall, it could not have given way until the Sleepers themselves had failed.—As the case is, I must endeavour, after I come home, to make the floor without the circle, of some well tempered earth, or com position, to guard against the expence of such frequent decays.—In the meantime, the best shift that can, must be made.—

I must remind you of having the Pork killed and salted before you go away;—and above all things attend to the Ice house, as it is of serious importance on account of fresh meat next summer, that it should be filled.

Not perceiving by the weekly rep^{ts}, that any of the Trees at the Mansion house have been taken up, or trimmed; and as little, if anything, can be done at it now, give Mr. Anderson all the information you can relative to this business; and turn the string of Memorandums (which I sent to you sometime ago) over to him.

Relying on Mr. Smiths making you the first payment (on the 24th ins^{t}) according to promise, I request again, that no demand against me may be left unpaid;—among these pay Gray the Weaver;—and let all that is owing to me, be reduced to promissary notes.—

I hope all the Shelters for the Cattle are up, that they may be secure from Snows, Rain and cold weather; for it is always observable, that if they suffer in the early part of the Winter, they rarely get perfectly recovered of it.—

Mr. Craik informs me that Clark (I think his name is) whom you recommended to him, has been very sick, but, notwithstanding, has given evident demonstrations of his fitness as an overlooker.—I wish you would make it a point to see Clark, and fix him to me, as agreed, for the next year;—otherwise I may have more difficulty in doing it, than at the present time; from causes which you will be at no loss to conjecture.—It was extremely unlucky, after waiting so long to get an answer from the Eastern Shore, that I had not waited a few days longer—until Clark arrived—Pray did you see the person on the Eastern shore, when last there, from whom you had been expecting to hear?—and what excuse did he make for not fulfilling his promise of writing to you?—

In my next letter, I will send you a certificate of my satisfaction in your Services as a Manager.—I would have done it now, but am hurried, and it will be in time then.—I am Y^r^ friend

and well wisher

G^o^ Washington.

CXVI.

Philadelphia 18^th^ Dec^r^ 1796.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 11^th^, with the enclosures, came to my hands yesterday; and I am sorry to find by it that so late as *that,* you were still without rain. I hope what has fallen to-day, will have extended to you:—here it has rained the whole day without ceasing.—

I do not know whether I understand Mr. Alex^r^ Smiths proposition, with respect to putting the note for 4839 dollars in the Bank, to be discounted at the end of Sixty days; making the Bank (instead of himself and securities) liable therefor.—If he means, that at the end of the Sixty days, I am to receive that sum from the Bank without interest

thereon for that time, I shall not accept the offer; because there is neither reason nor justice why I should suffer *that* loss for my indulgence to him;—but on the other hand, if at the end of 60 days, it is to be paid at the Bank with interest, in the same manner that it would be paid by him, I should suppose it ought to be preferred:—however, as I know very little of Bank transactions, but believe that money matters stand rather on ticklish ground, I would (if you have an opportunity) have you consult Mr. Lear, and be governed by his advice in this business.—If you have not that opportunity, act for me in the case, as you would for yourself, and I shall be satisfied therewith.—

I will not have the ground, in which I directed Ivy and the wild honey suckle to be planted, plowed beforehand.—Nor can I find what it is the Gardener means by saying he has as much to do between this and Christmas as he is able to accomplish, when one of his own hands (according to his report) is at work with the House gang, and might be recalled,—besides which he has been authorised to employ Frank, Hercules and Cyrus—nay, even to call for more aid if necessary.—If he won't do it, or makes any delay, or difficulty in doing it, desire him to give up my letter of directions; and order Allison to set about the work agreeably thereto.—If the ground is as hard frozen as I presume it is, there being no Snow on it, he has missed the most favourable opportunity of taking the Plants up, with frozen earth to their roots, that ever occurred, or may occur again in seven years.—And I suppose, after plowing the ground up, would give me a naked furrough to look at all next spring and summer, instead of a Plantation of flowering Shrubs.—I am much displeased at his conduct.—

It would give me great pleasure to have the New road compleated, or in a state of forwardness, this Winter and Spring;—but I would not have this attempted at the expence of more important concerns.—As you have crossed the road

leading into Muddy-hole farm, let the Road from thence in a line as marked be opened into it—16½ feet wide on each side of the stakes, which were set up.—

I am sorry to hear that Mr. Neal continues so much indisposed, for my Carpenters really appear to me to do nothing;—and there is Sall who was constantly at work when we were at home, is now regularly returned sick six days in the Week;—and Mima, Dick, and some others, nearly as bad.—

I had a letter from Mr. Anderson by the last Post, who informs me that it was not in his power to leave the concern he was engaged in at the time I wished him to be at Mount Vernon;—but that he certainly would be there by the 27th or 28th of this month, if he was alive and well.—I wish it may be convenient for you to stay a few days after he comes to give him a thorough insight into the business, and then transfer the directions I have given concerning it to him.—

Shall I not want Clover, and other Grass seeds for the next year?—and how much?—As these things can neither be procured, or sent at all times, they shd be noticed in season.—I wish you well and am

Your friend

Go Washington.

P. S.

What has Frank, Hercules and Cyrus been employed in.—No mention is made of any work performed by them in the Gardeners or other Reports.

CXVII.

[Certificate]

Mr. William Pearce having Superintended the Farms, and other business appertaining to my estate of Mount Vernon, during my absence as President of the United States for the last three years (ending the 31st of the present month)—It is

due to him to declare, and I certify it accordingly, that his conduct during that period has given me entire satisfaction; and that I part with him reluctantly, at his own request, on account of a Rheumatic affection which he thinks would prevent him from giving that attention to my business which from laudable motives he conceives would be necessary.

His industry and zeal to serve me, during the period above mentioned have been conspicuous on all occasions.—His knowledge in Farming, and mode of managing my business in all its relations, have been highly satisfactory to me.—and I have every reason to believe that his conduct in paying and receiving money has been strictly regular and just.—In a word, I have had great confidence in his honesty, sobriety, industry and skill; and, consequently, part with him with regret.

Given under my hand at Philadelphia
this 18th day of December 1796.[1]

G° Washington.

CXVIII.

Mount Vernon, 17th July 1797.

Mr. Pearce.

Sir,

My Overseers at Union and Dogue-run Farms are endeavouring to play the same game they did last year—that is—to raise their wages; but as I am fully resolved not to do it (especially as the price of produce is reduced a hundred p^r C^t) I am induced to ask you—as Clark who engaged with Mr. Craik is dead, and expectation from that quarter is at an end—if you could recommend a person whom you know would suit me, for Union farm?

It is not impossible but that I may reduce the hands at Union farm and place it and Dogue-run Farm under the same Overlooker:—but even in this case, I will not give more than

[1] Appendix M.

Sixty pounds wages, with the Usual allowances of Provisions.—

I shall insist upon a Dairies being attended to by the Overseers wife, and that Fowls shall be raised for my Table;—and that nothing shall be sold from the Farms for *their* benefit; as the wages, with the allowances of Provisions, is all the man and his wife have to expect.—

I would thank you for acknowledging the receipt of this letter by the Post, as soon as it gets to hand, that I may be certain of its safe arrival:—and as soon after as possible, let me know (without absolutely engaging any one) what dependence I could place on your getting a *good* man; with, or without a wife, but not too large a family.—It is necessary I should hear from you soon on this subject, as some are offering, and the season for engaging good Overseers is at hand.—

I hope to hear your health is restored to you, and that your crops have been, and are likely to be, good.—My Crop of Wheat is as good as I had any reason to expect; but the Hessian fly began just before harvest to cut it down.—Next year I expect their attack will be formidable and severe.—Could there be any dependance on purchasing three or 4 hundred bushels of Rye in your Neighbourhood, and at what price?—

I wish you and family well and am your friend and H^ble^ Servant

G^o^ Washington.

P. S.

The drought is, and has been extremely severe upon us:—Corn not half leg high; what will be the consequence I know not.

CXIX.

Mount Vernon 14^th^ Aug^t^ 1797.

Mr. Pearce.

Sir,

Your letter of the 24^th^ of July has been received, and I thank you for your ready compliance with my request; but

recollecting how I was served last year, I must remind you, that the season will not allow me to wait long for your decisive answer—especially too, as persons are now applying in this quarter.—

I must repeat in this, what I said, or meant to say in my last—that is—that I do not wish you to enter into any engagement that will be binding on me;—but to make enquiry for such an Overseer as *you* know would suit me;—know precisely the lowest terms on which he could be obtained for Union Farm;—and give me as speedy notice thereof as is in your power.—Mr. Anderson seems to think that one man may Overlook both Union and Dogue-run Farms for the wages of Sixty pounds, but whether this would be more eligable than *two* at about £70 or £75 between them is questionably, as there are few Negros who will work unless there be a constant eye on them—or who will not slight it if there is not this eye.—

The fallow fields at Union and Dogue-run farms looked well at Harvest; and I believe will yield well, but the Hessian fly had made an attack upon the latter which had injured it in some degree.—Next year I expect this attack will be much more formidable, which is one reason why I propose to encrease my seeding with Rye, considerably this Fall.—I perceived no difference between the French plowed part and the parts adjoining from hence the inference is that it was attended with no advantage; in the last Crop at least.—

We have been as wet latterly as we were dry before; which, to me, has produced both good and evil.—My Corn is much amended by it, but my Hay ruined; and I have had Wheat injured in the Stack.—I am glad to hear that your Crop has, and promises to be, tolerable good.—But am sorry that your own, and daughter Nancy's indispositions continue.—

A small bag of Rye-grass seeds came here without any letter.—We guessed from whence it came, but was not cer-

tain until some time after, when your letter announced it.—For sending it I thank you, and if several bushels of the Seed could be purchased and sent to me, I would with pleasure pay the cost to your order.—

Mrs. Washington and the rest of the family are as usual[1] —and I am your friend and

H^ble^ Servant
G° Washington.

CXX.

Mount Vernon 6^th^ May 1798.

Mr. Pearce,

A few days ago the enclosed a/c was sent in, and others of a similar nature have also been presented.—To guard against these *after claps* was the reason why I urged you with so much earnestness to leave no accounts unpaid, of your own contracting.—

Why The balance, if just, was left unpaid, when you had money to go to, at pleasure, or why it was referred to Mr. Lear to pay, I am unable to say.—Some accounts which have been presented, I have caused to be proved;—but in the case of Mess^rs^ Fosters & May, they have been informed that the account should be transmitted to you for explanation.—I request therefore you would let me know whether the Balance claimed by them is really due—In short, be kind enough to give me such information concerning it as you are possessed of, that the matter may be settled with those Gentlemen; and with it, return their Account.

In cradling my Wheat the coming Harvest I wish to catch it in the hand, in the manner practised on the Eastern Shore and other places; but as none of my People have been in the habit of cutting in this way, they might need an Instructor.—Would it be in your power to engage a person who understands this business *perfectly*, and fixing the Cradles, to be

[1] Appendix N.

here by the 25th June—to be paid by the day while here, and for coming and returning—and his reasonable travelling expences?—

At any rate I pray you to let me know, and as soon as you conveniently can, if I might depend upon it.—Inform me at the same time, if you please, whether the Cradles and Scythes differ in any respect from those which you know I use—and if they do, to inform me in what the difference consists, that I may be preparing against Harvest.—The Scythe, I presume must be the same, but the fixing of it to the sneed may differ;—and the Cradle may vary from the usual Kind, by having more, or less fingers—more or less coming—&c^{a}.—All of which can readily be described in a letter, by a person well acquainted with the two sorts, so as to enable me with the assistance of Mr. Stuart, who you know is, from his own account, acquainted with all things to go on in this mode even if you sh^{d} not be able to procure me a very skilful hand (for none other I would have sent).—I remain Your friend and

H^{ble} Servant

G^{o} Washington.

CXXI.

Washington Oct^{r} 24th 1795.

Mr. William Pearce—

Dear Sir,

This will be handed to you by Mr. Philips, a gentleman from England, who is travelling in this part of the Country, and is desireous of Seeing the Seat at Mount Vernon.—You will be so good as to shew him attentions and civilities and Oblige

Your most Obed^{t} Serv^{t}

Tobias Lear.

CXXII.

Alex[a] Nov[r] 11. 1796.

Mr ~~~~~~~~ Peirce

Dear Sir

Permit me to introduce to your acquaintance Mr. Ja: Potts a Gentleman lately from England, who being on his way to Fredericksburgh, and having heard much of the Seat of the President, impelled by the curiosity so natural to Strangers in the neighbourhood of Mount Vernon to visit the residence of the Man whose Fame all Europe Acknowledge—will take Mount Vernon in his way—any civilities shown him or his Friend a Mr. Millburn who will accompany him—will not only be pleasing to them, but particularly acknowledged by

Your Humble Serv[t]

Tho[s] Patten.

CXXIII.

Articles of Agreement entered into between George Washington of Mount Vernon in Virginia, at present President of the United States and residing in Philadelphia of the one part, and of the County of Westmoreland and State aforesaid House Carpenter and Joiner of the other part, Witness that the said for the wages and other considerations hereafter mentioned, doth oblige himself and four Negro Carpenters belonging to him, who he engages to be good workmen, to wit, to serve the said George Washington one year from the time they shall enter upon the execution of their duties at Mount Vernon (which he promises shall be on or before the day of next ensuing.—During which time he, and they, will conduct themselves soberly, honestly and diligently in whatever business (in the line of their profession) they shall be employed in.—That he will besides attending to his own,

superintend all such Negro Carpenters belonging to the said George Washington as shall be placed under his care and direction; and to the utmost of his skill and industry, so order and contrive the work for the whole, or any part thereof, as to carry it on to the best advantage and with the greatest facility.—That he will be particularly attentive as well to the conduct of his own as to such other Carpenters as may be entrusted to him, suffering no idleness when they are in health, nor no neglect of them when sick.—That he will cause proper care to be taken of the Tools, and see them forthcoming whenever called for; or a satisfactory account rendered of them if they are not.—That he will enter in a book to be kept for that purpose an acc^{t} of all the Work which has been done by himself and the Carpenters over whom he is placed, and report the same weekly.—That he will never be away from his people when they are at work and he is in health; nor be absent from his duty without permission from the said George Washington or his Manager; but on the contrary, by close attention, and an industrious conduct, will set an example to them worthy of imitation.—And Whereas it too often happens that men (regardless of their engagements and of course their reputation) when working on standing wages are apt to be idle, careless and indifferent to the interest of their Employers, thereby setting the reverse of good examples, it is hereby clearly understood and expressly agreed to by the said that he will be at his business as soon as it is light, and remain thereat until dark, when he is in health; and when not employed in laying out, or marking off work for others, that he will labour as faithfully, and as effectually as any hand under him; as well for the purpose of fulfilling this agreement as for the good example he would set by so doing to those who are under his care, and who are not so ignorant (knowing this is required of him) as not to relax as he relaxes, and be idle in proportion as he is idle; because all of them have discernment enough to know that no man can, with pro-

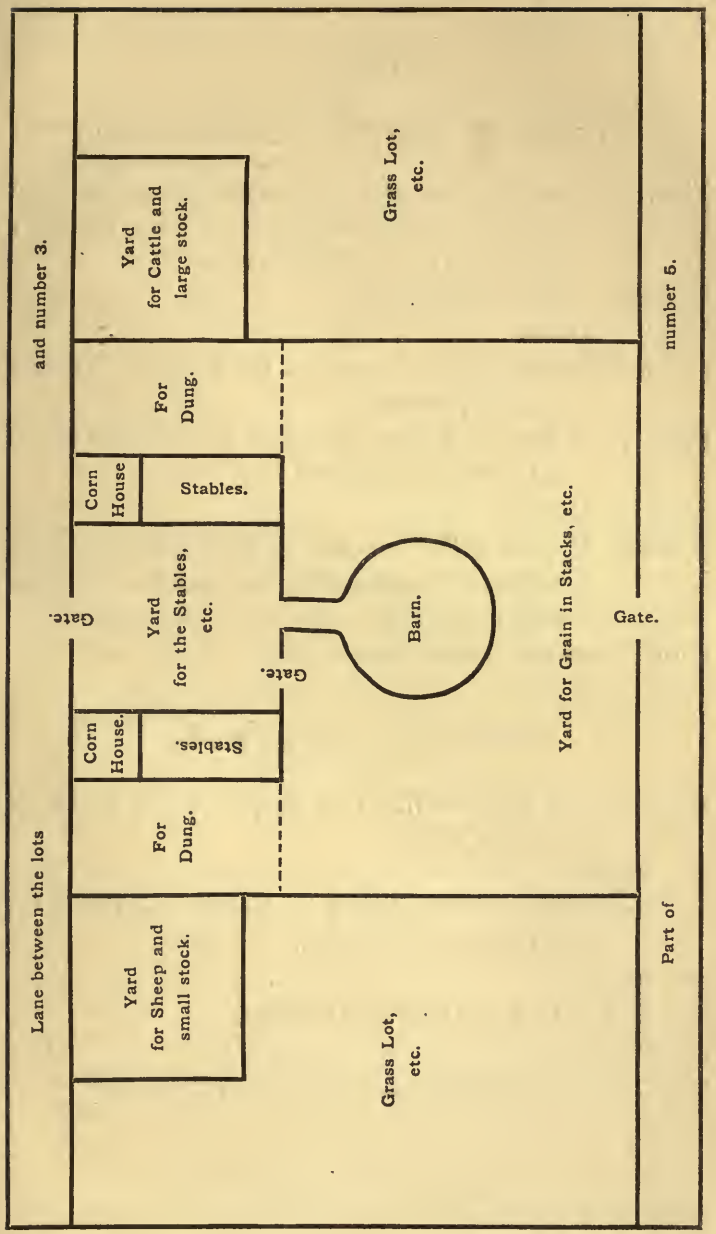
priety, or a good conscience, correct others for a fault he is guilty of himself;—the consequence of which is, that indolence and sloth take possession of the whole.—*Lastly*, the said doth hereby oblige himself, during the term aforesaid, to conform to all orders and directions in the line of his business, or in any other that is reasonable (his time being paid for by the said George Washington) which he the said George Washington, or person having the general Superintendency of his business, shall require. *In consideration* of these Services well and truly performed on the part of the said and his four Negro Carpenters before named, the said George Washington doth hereby oblige himself to pay the said the sum of ten pounds p^{r} Kalender month—estimating dollars at Six shillings and other gold and silver at that rate; for the hire of the said and the four Negro Carpenters before mentioned; and in that proportion in case any of them should be unable to come, or die in the service after they have entered upon it.—The said George Washington doth moreover agree to furnish the said and his four Negro Carpenters with provisions; himself with lbs. of Porke or Beef, and bushels of Indian Meal or midling flour equivalent in value, thereto; and his Negros with the same provisions in quantity and quality as his own Negro Carpenters are allowed—And will provide the whole with Tools, and pay their taxes.—He also agrees to furnish the said with a house to live in, or if this cannot be done in time, conveniently, then, and in that case, a room seperate and distinct from any other person or persons.—But the said is to provide his own bed and necessaries; as also such kind of bedding as he chuses to allow his own Negros.—For the true and faithful performance of this agreement, the parties do bind themselves each to the other in the sum of pounds this day of 1793. G^{o} Washington.

Test. for G^{o} Washington B^{w} Dandridge.

CXXIV.

Calculation of the number of Bricks wanting for the Barn at Riv^r farm.

	Bricks.
From the foundation (which ought to be below the penetration of frost) to the Sleepers, suppose 3 feet;—this of a 2½ brick wall, would require ab^t 30 bricks to the foot, and the 2 sides and 2 ends making together 180 feet running measure, will take.....	16,200
From the Sleepers, or water table, to the top of the wall—16 feet high, and 2 brick thick, will require at the rate of 24 to foot.....	69,120
The two inner walls of the sheds from the barn (intended for Stables) being 30 feet each, and 2 brick thick to the water table, of the Barn—say 3 feet high—requires.....	4,320
From hence to the top of the wall 16 feet, a brick and half thick—Twice 30 feet.....	17,280
Two outer walls of d° 60 feet long each and 1½ brick thick; and within, and out of the gr^d 10 feet high; will require.....	21,600
The 4 ends of the sheds 12 feet each makes 48 feet —the medium height of w^ch will be about 15 feet and these of a brick and half will need....	11,460
Total.....	139,980


Lane between the lots
and number 3.
Yard for Sheep and small stock.
For Dung.
Corn House.
Stables.
Gate.
Yard for the Stables, etc.
Corn House
Stables.
For Dung.
Yard for Cattle and large stock.
Grass Lot, etc.
Grass Lot, etc.
Barn.
Gate.
Yard for Grain in Stacks, etc.
Gate.
Part of
number 5.

CXXV.

Rotation of Crops for Dogue Run Farm.

First.....Corn and Potatoes in alternate Rows—to be laid down in Wheat—with Clover sown therein at the breaking up of the Frost.—
Second...Wheat—and Clover.
Third....Clover.
fourth....Clover—but to be sown in the Fall with Wheat on a single plowing.
Fifth ....Wheat—and Buck Wheat on the Stubble as soon as the Wheat comes off.—
Sixth ....Oats.—
Seventh..Pasture to Pen on—and to receive all the Manure which can be procured—for the purpose of again beginning with.
Corn.....and so on as above.—

Rotation for the other Farms.

1st Corn and Potatoes (if to be had) as above to be laid down with Wheat.
2d Wheat.
3d Buck Wheat to be plowed in for Manure and Wheat sowed thereon in the Fall.
4th Wheat.
5th Half in Oats and half in B: Wheat.
6th Pasture.
7th Ditto—to be penned on and manured as above.

CXXVI.

North side of the Road cleared formerly.....	43—3— 4
S° of the Road.....	17—0—19
Cleared last Wint^r	21—2— 3
	82—1—26
Within Corn field.....	22—3—19
Total—M: House.....	105—1— 5

CXXVII.

Terms on which the Farms at Mount Vernon may be obtained.

There not being much difference in the quality of the soil of River, Union, and Dogue-run farms, the rent of each, by the acre, will be the same. The soil of River farm has, generally, been most productive; but not having the meadow grounds of the other two, it will hardly be esteemed more valuable, or more profitable in future.

The rent of these three farms (in which the meadow grounds at the two latter will be blended with the arable) is a bushel and an half of Wheat for each acre contained within the limits of the present fencing, or on failure of that Crop an equivalent in Cash at the Market price of the article:—the bounds of which shall be correctly described in the Leases, and the quantity precisely ascertained by accurate resurveys, for the purpose of rectifying former errors, if any have been committed,—or alterations, if any have been occasioned by the removal of fences, since the fields were first established.

(The reasons why I fix the rent in Wheat are, 1^st^ because it is the staple produce of the part of the country in which the Estate lies. 2^d^ because it is convenient to the Tenant, and

equitable for both him and the Landlord; there being no more trouble or expense in raising this article when it bears a high, than when it is at a low price:—consequently as it now is, and probably will continue to be a regulating standard for the price of other articles foreign and domestic, the Rent thus established will keep pace therewith. Whereas was it fixed in money, the depreciation in that, and progressive rise in other things might render a good rent *now* a mere nominal one fourteen years hence. To fix the rent in wheat *now* when it bears so high a price, may be thought extravagant; but no person of information can, or does suppose otherwise, than that the price of this article will be reduced to its old or progressive price so soon as the wars in Europe cease and tranquillity is again restored. It is to be understood, that the rent when paid in wheat, is to be delivered on or before the first of December in every year, to the Collector.)

To the two farms which lie on the river, the Fisheries which now are, have been, or again might be used as such, may be annexed; and may be obtained for the same term of years that the Lease is given for the farm adjoining, and at a reasonable rent;—or they will be let separately to others, with the priviledge of ingress and regress thro' the farms.

Dogue-run farm will comprehend no part of the Mill meadows, or mill swamp; nor any ground without the present outer fences of the fields, except the woodland w^{ch} is, in a manner, encompassed by fields N° 2. 3. 5 and 7, which if the farm is let in an undivided state, may be enclosed merely for a woodland pasture. In like manner the other farms are to be circumscribed by the outer fences of the respective fields; and no more land is to be cleared within them, than what is now in use, except by special agreement, and for a certain fixed compensation.—

Each farm, whether in its present or divided state, will be supplied with fuel from the woodland; and with timber for all sorts of farming implements and for fencing, with the

necessary repairs to it, until hedges can be raised; a measure which will be insisted upon as far and as soon, as it is reasonably practicable.

Muddy hole farm being more indifferent than either of the other three, will be let for a quarter of a bushel less per acre; but subject in other respects to the same regulations.—

Tobacco will not be allowed to be cultivated for market, on any of the farms;[1] nor more than a sixth part of the arable Suffered to be in Indian Corn, in any year during the term of the Leases; and the rotation which is annexed, or some other not more oppressive to the land, will be insisted upon; as also that Hogs shall not run at large.

If the farms are let in their undivided state, no more buildings will be necessary than what are already on the premises:—but if they are divided, houses in proportion to the number, and size of the Lots which will be separated from those which may contain the present buildings, will be required; the materials for which must be provided by the tenants themselves, except *small* aids from the woodland. But as the earth at every farm, and in every part of each farm, is good for brick or mud walls, (the last of which are warm and good when judiciously made) they would be recommended; especially the former, as infinitely preferable, more durable, requiring less repairs, and very little, if any, dearer than wood buildings, even in their first cost.

Leases will be given, conformably to the advertisement in the Gazettes; namely, for fourteen years, if the farms are undivided; and for eighteen years, if they are divided, for such lots as will be excluded from the present buildings;

---

[1] In 1789 Washington planted 30,000 tobacco plants at Dogue Run farm, but afterwards reached the conclusion that tobacco was injurious to the soil. With reference to the use of tobacco by Washington personally, an Alexandria legend says he was once nearly choked by a bit of tobacco, kept in his mouth as he lay down; but Dr. McGuire says, "He never used tobacco in any shape, always expressing a great aversion to it."

with the usual covenants for the security of the rents; keeping the farms in tenantable repairs; planting fruit trees &c^{a} &c^{a}.

The Mill, and every thing appertaining to it, is, at the time of letting, to be critically examined, and must be returned in like good order at the expiration of the Lease.

The present farms, as has been mentioned before, may be divided into large, or small lots, so as to suit the convenience of those who may incline to associate; but less than one of the present fields, at any of the farms, except where they are large, ought not to compose a lot; and to lay them off by fields, would be convenient and desirable, on account of the Ditches, hedges and fences that are now in use.—

Although the admission of slaves with the tenants will not be absolutely prohibited; it would nevertheless, be a pleasing circumstance to exclude them; if not entirely, at least in a great degree:—to do which is not among the least inducements for dividing the farms into small Lots.—

Adjoining to River farm, are grounds which now are a common, between the fences of fields N° 1. 2 and 3. and the river. These may become part of those Lots at the rent per acre of the other part, whether the farm is divided or not; making the river, instead of the present fences, the boundary.

For every acre contained in the Lease, an apple tree of good grafted fruit is to be planted on the premises, in a regular orchard truly laid out in rows forty feet a part each way. Between which (also in regular order) rows of peach trees will be required.

G° Washington.

February 1st 1796.

CXXVIII.

Rotation referred to, for a Farm containing six fields; besides a homestead, or Inclosure for the Houses, garden, and yards.

1st....Indian Corn, with intermediate rows of Potatoes, or any root more certain or useful (if such there be) that will not impede the plough, hoe or harrow in the cultivation of the Corn.

2d....Wheat, Rye, or Winter Barley at the option of the Tenant—sown as usual when the Corn receives its last working.

3d....Buckwheat, Peas, or Pulse; or Vegetables of any sort, or partly of all; or any thing else, except grain (that is corn crops)—for which this is preparatory.

4th....Oats, or Summer barley, at the discretion of the Tenant, with Clover, if and when the ground is in condition to bear it.—

5.....To remain in Clover for cutting, for feeding, or for both—or if Clover should not be sown—or if sown should not succeed;—then and in that case the field may be filled with any kind of Vetch, pulse or Vegetables.

6.....To lie uncultivated in pasture, and for the purpose of manuring, for the same round of crops again.

The other fields passing through the same courses will, supposing the rotation to commence in the year 1797, appear in one view by the plan on the other side.

A Farm containing 100 acres, gives six fields of 16 acres each; and leaves 4 acres for the houses, garden and yards.—The following plan shews what crops will be taken from the

said farm annually; and these at a very moderate estimate will produce as follows——

16 acres in Indian Corn at 12 bush[ls] is	192	bush[s] a	3/. is	£28.	16
Same in Potatoes.....	D°.....	D°	2/..	19.	4
16 acres..Wheat.....	10.....	160.....	6/..	48...	
16 acres..Buckwheat...	10.....	160.....	..2/..	16...	
16 acres..Oats.....	15.....	240.....	2/6.	30...	
16 acres..Clover or Vegetables..uncertain.....					
Total, besides Clover or &c[a].....				£142.	0
Rent of 100 acres at a bushel and a half of Wheat, or a dollar and half p[r] acre.....				45.	0
Remains for the Tenant				97.	0

ROTATION FOR A FARM OF SIX FIELDS.

Number of the Fields.	1797.	1798.	1799.[1]	1800.	1801.	1802.
1.	Corn & Potatoes	Wheat Rye &c[a]	Buck-wheat or &c[a]	Oats or barley with Clover	Clover or Pulse.	Pasture & Manure.
2.	Pasture & Manure.	Corn & Pota[s]	Wheat Rye or &c[a]	Buck-wheat or &c[a]	Oats or barley with Clover	Clover or Pulse.
3.	Clover or Pulse	Pasture & Manure	Corn & Pota[s]	Wheat Rye or &c[a]	Buck-wheat or &c[a]	Oats or barley with Clover.
4.	Oats or barley with Clover.	Clover or Pulse	Pasture & Manure	Corn & Pota[s]	Wheat Rye or &c[a]	Buck-wheat or &c[a]
5.	Buck-wheat or &c[a]	Oats or barley with Clover	Clover or Pulse	Pasture & Manure	Corn & Pota[s]	Wheat Rye or &c[a]
6.	Wheat Rye or &c[a]	Buck-wheat or &c[a]	Oats or barley with Clover	Clover or Pulse	Pasture & Manure.	Corn & Pota[s]

[1] Appendix O.

In England, where taxes and rents are both high, it is estimated that if *every* thing which is raised on the farm, will sell for three times the rent, that the farmer is in eligible circumstances.—One-third pays the rent—another third the taxes, and all other incidental expenses of the farm—and the remaining third is applied to whatever purposes the farmer may chuse.—The above principles and proportions, apply equally to large and small farms.—

APPENDIX.

A (p. 3).

Washington's earlier managers were his relatives,—Lund Washington, George Augustine Washington, Robert Lewis, Howell Lewis, successively. Circumstances having deprived him of their services,—though Robert Lewis continued to be his general agent for collections etc. on his estates in Virginia,—he employed in succession Messrs. Whiting, Pearce and Anderson. It appears also that for a time he employed a Mr. Peake in this capacity. This is mentioned by the Rev. Dr. E. C. McGuire, in his little book on "The Religious Opinions and Character of Washington," published in 1836. Dr. McGuire, for many years rector of St. George's Church, Fredericksburg, Va., married Judith, daughter of Robert Lewis, Washington's nephew and agent, and had good sources of information. The contents of a letter which I have not seen have been reported to me, in which Washington (while President) gives Robert Lewis, when undertaking the management of Mount Vernon, detailed instructions. He is to send in careful and minute weekly reports of every event on the estate, of the smallest incidents, especially relating to the negroes. In the letters he shall receive from Washington, every question is to be noted for answer and then cancelled with a pencil. The work involved was by no means small and, though liberally paid, it is not wonderful that the managers were changed pretty often. The one who served him longest was Lund Washington, concerning whom see Appendix H.

The following letter shows that at one time Washington thought of employing the elder brother of Robert and Howell Lewis. It is probable, however, that the mother of Lawrence could not spare him, for there appears no indication of that young gentleman's having resided at Mount Vernon until after Washington had retired from the presidency. The letter was written to his relative Col. Burgess Ball, and I am indebted for its use to his grandson Capt. George Washington Ball, author of an invaluable monograph on "The Maternal Ancestry and nearest of kin of Washington."

Philadelphia, Aug. 4th, 1793.

Dear Sir,

Previously to the receipt of your letter of the 25th ulto, some persons had been mentioned to me as well qualified for the Superintendence of my business at Mount Vernon, and until something is decided with respect to them, (letters having passed on the subject,) I can say nothing farther with respect to Mr. Lawrence Lewis. So much am I engaged in public business, and so little have I it in my power to visit or attend to my private concerns, that it becomes extremely necessary (besides fidelity) to have an experienced and skilful man of some weight to manage my business—one whose judgment is able to direct him in cases which may arise out of circumstances that can neither be foreseen nor previously guarded against.

What the age of Mr. Lawrence Lewis is, what opportunities he may have had to acquire any knowledge in the management of a farm, what his disposition, whether active or indolent, whether clear in his perceptions and of good judgment, whether sober and sedate, or fond of amusements and running about, with other queries which might be asked as well applying to a young man just entering on the career of life, are all matters to which I am an entire stranger, and if you can give me information respecting them, I shall thank you.

You will readily perceive that my sole object in these enquiries is to ascertain the competency of a character to whom I should commit an important trust. Consequently going no farther can operate nothing to the prejudice of my nephew, whatever in confidence you say to me on the foregoing points and such others as may occur to you.

So far as integrity, and I presume sobriety, would qualify him, I should give him my entire confidence; but though these are very essential, something more, circumstanced as I am, is equally necessary. Was I at home myself, I should prefer a person connected with me, as he is, to a more skilful man that was not, (provided he had no thoughts of soon forming a matrimonial alliance) because he could aid me in attention to company, which I should stand as much in need of as of one to look after my estate, as my disposition would lead me to endulge in retirement whenever I shall quit my public walks. My love to Mrs. Ball and your family, in w'ch Mrs. Washington joins. With sincere regard and friendship, I am y'rs affectionately,

G° Washington."

By the favor of Governor Wilson, of West Virginia, a connection of the Washington and Lewis families, I am able to print a characteristic letter from Washington to Howell Lewis, his nephew (see p. 10) while managing Mount Vernon.

Germantown, Nov. 3, 1793.

Dear Howell,

The short time I was with you, and the hurry into which I was thrown by the pressure of many matters, public and private, prevented my mentioning many things which ought to have been communicated to you before I left home; but I shall do it by letter as they may happen to occur to me.

I have already told you, that the corn is to be gathered without loss of time as soon as circumstances will permit—

when this is done, let all that is intended for the use of the respective plantations be put into corn houses by itself; and the overplus into other Houses. As there is but one corn house at Muddy hill, Davy must put all that grows at that place into it.

I hope the quantity will exceed 150 barrels; but if it should fall short of it, that quantity must be made up from the field he tended at Dogue Run—after which, the residue of that field of his, may be lofted along with McKoy's corn. Let McKoy put 180 barrels into one of his corn houses for the use of the Farm, and the residue in the other.—Crow may put 250 barrls. in one house, and the residue in another;—and Stuart may do the same—that is—put 250 barrels in one house, and all that remains in the other.—Tell all of them that I exhort them most earnestly to be extremely careful of the Corn.—I know this article will fall short of my demands for it; and I know not where it is to be bought, or where to find money if I did.—Unless you can buy oats, the horses at the Mansion house must be fed with Corn and Bran, and that sparingly, except the five horses which are to come this way with your Aunt.—Have an eye that Martin does not neglect them;—nor spare the curry comb.—He wants looking after.—The Corn with which these five horses are fed should be ground into small homony, and if Bran was mixed with it, it would be none the worse, and would go farther.—The Horses on the different Farms, tell the overseers, must be kept in good heart (notwithstanding the sparing use of the corn) as they will have a great deal of heavy plowing to do this Fall and Winter; which, not being sure I fully explained to all of them, I herewith enclose a list; with which you will furnish each of them, that is, with so much as relates to his own business.—

As a house will be built for Crow at the place marked out (not far from the Barn) the corn house near to the one in which he now lives, ought to be removed to the Barn, and

set in uniformity with the other, before the corn is lofted (if it can be done conveniently) and as there is no spring near to the house which is to be built for Crow, a well should be dug in the Barn lane, opposite to the centre of that house, and exactly half way between the same and those which will be opposite to it for the Negros.—My ideas on this head have been explained to Thos. Green, as to the spot.—This well need be no larger in the diameter than is sufficient to contain a pump, which it must receive; and the size proper for this you must enquire into.—I should think Thomas Davis and Muclus must have ingenuity enough to sink this well as I hope and expect it will be very shallow after they have laid the foundation (with Brick) for the Overseer's house; but if they have any doubts themselves of their sufficiency, employ the well-digger in Alexandria, who sunk the well at the Mansion house lately; and if it is to be done by him let it be undertaken immediately—For water found at this season of the year, and especially after so parching a drought, may be depended upon—this is a good reason for its being done soon, by whomsoever it is undertaken.—

I directed the Miller to put up 6 Hogs for forward Bacon, and to call upon McKoy for corn to feed them.—I always forget to tell the latter to send it, and possibly it has been neglected.—enquire into, and see that it is done.

As I am almost certain I shall want feed next year, both for man and beast, more than I have made this; and as a good deal of my wheat (unless it surprisingly alters from the Rain which has lately fallen here, and I hope with you) tell Mr. Stuart and Mr. Crow (whose wheat I think was next) that if they could sow a part of that which is most missing with Rye, if to be had, it will be a pleasing thing to me.—I mean such parts of the field only as are not likely to produce Wheat next year with any prospect of success.—It is not too late to sow Rye, and the straw will be useful for thatching sheds for the cover of my cattle; which I should wish to do before

the winter, next after this which is now approaching sets in.—

If you cannot get oats, about ten bushels of old corn ought to be reserved for feeding the horses with, which are to come this way, some days before they set out, otherwise travelling them after being fed upon new corn may be the loss of some of them on the road, besides the detention it would necessarily occasion to your Aunt.

Just before I left home, I discovered that the Carters and Waggoner, in order to get their horses easily of mornings, turned them into the clover lot by the quarter.—forbid this absolutely.—They have injured it considerably already, by eating it so bare as for the frosts to kill the roots but will ruin it entirely if they are suffered to continue this practice any longer.—

When the Potatoes are taken up, tell Butler to have the tussocks of course grass or Broom, and large weeds (which I noticed on the lower part of that lot) taken up also; that the ground, when sown next Spring, may be in better condition for the oats and clover which is to be put in it.

Whenever the weather appears to be settled, and the morning promises a good day, get Peter and Martin, or Charles (for I know not what he does) and take every thing out of the Store that requires to be aired—cleaned from Mould, and the other injuries they are sustaining—and when thoroughly cleaned and dried, returned and put away again together with the other things in that place; with that regularity and order that whatever is wanted from thence may be seen and got at without difficulty.—When this is done, take an exact inventory of the whole (even to minute things) and send it to me, That I may know what is there.—The Valeses (that is things like Portmanteaus) which contain my Marquee and other things, ought all to be opened, wiped clean, and dried.—The Trunk, belonging to my camp equipage should be served the same way (The Keys you will find in my writing table) and

in short every thing rescued from the disorder and injury which they seemed to be undergoing.—The nails, where they are not in whole Casks sh[d] be counted (which is soon done by counting 125 and putting the same weight of nails in the other scale and keep doubling of them until you get 1000 in a scale; after which you will soon ascertain the whole number of thousands in the Cask).—I sent (not a great while ago) a considerable quantity of Paint from Philadelphia to Mount Vernon; but do not recollect to have seen any in the store.—enquire for this, and let it be put there for safety (if it can be stored there conveniently) or kept under a lock the key of which is in the box; for unless this is done there will be a flemish account of it when it is wanted for use.—Before I left home I directed old Jack to clean the seed left over the green house thoroughly, that the several Bins might be in order for the reception of oats or other grain in quantities, which might be placed there for Spring seeding.—To put the Casks which had Timothy and Orchard grass seeds by themselves, so as to be known—and all the empty Casks by themselves, and as much out of the way as they could be.—See that this is done, and tell Butler it is my wish as soon as his Potatoes are up, and secured in the manner already mentioned to you; I desire he will immediately thrash out all the oats at the Mansion on the Barn floor if it can be spared by the work people —Measure and put them in the seed loft above mentioned, and inform me of the quantity.—Then in the corn lofts, if any remains after the others are thrashed, might be thrashed also; as I want all I have for seed; being of a good kind.—The straw after the oats are taken from them, may be still cut for the Work horses as usual, but Bran or chopped corn must be mixed therewith, to give the more nourishment to them.—

As the Corn house at Crows is of frame work, and not heavy, while empty, it may be removed on Rollers;—and as Mr. Stuart pretends to be well acquainted with the manner

of doing this work having been frequently engaged therein consult him, as well as Green on this business.—

Stuart says there is a gum tree on the Farm he is at that will make excellent rollers—Let these be got from thence and well made that they may serve for other purposes hereafter. It will naturally occur to you that this work (if done at all this season) ought not to be delayed until the ground gets soft, for that would increase the labour four fold, if not render it impracticable at all.—And speaking of this I will mention a proverb to you which you will find worthy of attention all the days of your life; under any circumstances, or in any situation you may happen to be placed;—and that is, to put nothing off 'till the Morrow, that you can do to day.—The habit of postponing things is among the worst in the world doing things in season is always beneficial—but out of season, it frequently happens that so far from being beneficial, that oftentimes, it proves a real injury.—It was one of the sayings of the wise man you know, that there is a season for all things, and nothing is more true; apply it to any occurrence or transaction in life.

I am your sincere friend and
Affectionate Uncle
G. Washington.

P.S.

If you could get a fair rope for the well by the quarter it would be desirable.—I directed Peter two or three times to make enquiry for one at the Rope Makers in Alex[a], but I do not know the result of it.—As your Aunt may wish to see my letters to you, always show them to her.

Y[r] as above,
G. W.

B (p. 5).

Col. Bassett's sister Elizabeth married Benj. Harrison, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and great-grandfather of our present President (1889).

Washington's pleasant personal and political relations with his connections at Eltham appear in the following note, for which I am indebted to Miss Virginia Carter Minor, of New York, a descendant of Washington's aunt, Mildred Willis, of Fredericksburg. The Association alluded to was the Non-importation Association, formed in May, 1769. The "Patsy" mentioned was Mrs. Washington's daughter, who died in 1773. She had fits, for which Washington's diary mentions an application of "the iron ring."

Mount Vernon,
June y^e^ 18^th^, 1769.

[Col. Burwell Bassett, Eltham.]

Dear Sir,

As we have come to a Resolution to set of (if nothing unforseen happens to prevent it) for the warm springs about the 18^th^ of next Month; I do, according to promise give you notice thereof, and should be glad of your Company up with us, if you still entertain thoughts of trying the effect of those waters.—

You will have occasion to provide nothing, if I can be advised of your Intentions before the waggon comes down for my necessaries, so that I may provide accordingly.

We are all in the usual way, no alteration for better or worse in Patsy.—

The Association in this, and the neighbouring Counties of Prince William and Loudoun is compleat, or near it, how it

goes on in other places I know not, but hope to hear of the universality of it.—

We all join tendering our Loves to Mrs. Bassett and yourself, Family and Mrs. Dandridge and Betsy, and I am D^r^ Sir

Y^r^ Most Affec^t^
Hbl Serv^t^

G^o^ Washington.

C (p. 12).

German Town 24th Novr 1793.

Col. Burgess Ball, Leesburgh

Dear Sir,

I have duly received your letter of the 16th Instant, from Leesburgh.

In answer to which, respecting the purchase of Buck Wheat, I send you a Bank note for two hundred dollars; being more disposed to give two and six pence pr Bushel in Loudoun than depend upon the purchase here, and the uncertainty of getting it round in time.—What the Waggonage of it to my house from thence (as fast as it is bought, for that I make a condition in order that *no disappointment* may happen) will be, I know not; but with a view to place the matter upon an *absolute certainty* I had rather give three and six pence for it, delivered at Mount Vernon, than encounter delay, or trust to contingencies; because as it forms part of my system of Husbandry for the next year, a derangement of it would be a serious thing; for which reason a small difference in the price can be no object when placed against the disconcertion of my plans; especially too, as I am persuaded you will purchase, and transport the B. Wht for me on the best terms you can.

Four hundred and fifty bushels, or call it 500, is the quantity I shall want; and more money shall be sent to you as soon as I know your prospects, and the expenditures of what is now forwarded. For the reason I have already assigned, I must encounter *no disappointment;* if therefore your prospects (as you proceed in this business) are not so flattering as those detailed in your letter, inform me of it in time, that I may supply myself from hence before the frost sets in.

The malady with which Philadelphia has been sorely afflicted, has, it is said, entirely ceased;—and all the Citizens

are returning to their old habitations again.—I took a house in this town when I first arrived here, and shall retain it until Congress get themselves fixed; although I spend part of my time in the City.

Give my love to Mrs. Ball and Milly, and be assured of the sincere esteem and regard with which I am

Dear Sir,

Your affect^{e} Serv^{t}

G^{o} Washington.

[The original of the above letter belongs to Mr. O. L. Sypher of New York.]

D (p. 47).

I am indebted to the N. E. Historic-Genealogical Society for the following extract from a letter to Gen. Knox.

Mount Vernon, 28th Feb. 1785.

"The State of Virginia accompanied these proceedings with anôther Act, which particularly respected myself, and tho' generous in the extreme, is rendered more valuable by the flattering yet delicate expression of its recitals. It directs their Treasurer to subscribe for my use and benefit one hundred shares (50 in each navigation), which it declares vested in me and my heirs for ever. But I can truly aver to you, my dear sir, that this Act has given me more pain than pleasure. It never was my inclination—nor is it my intention—to accept anything pecuniary from the public; but how to decline this gift without appearing to slight the favor (which the Assembly ascribe to a sense of gratitude) of my country, and exhibiting an act of seeming disrespect to the Legislature on the one hand, or incurring the imputation of pride or an ostentatious display of disinterestedness on the other, is my embarrassment. But I must endeavor to hit upon some expedient before the next session (for I had not the smallest intimation of the matter before the rising of the last) to avoid any of these charges, and yet follow the bent of my wishes, which are to be as independent as the air. I have nobody to provide for, and I have enough to support me through life in the plain and easy style in which I mean to spend the remainder of my days."

The number of shares presented, Jan. 1885 (see Hening's Statutes, vol. xi. p. 525) is inexactly stated above,—100 being given in the Potomac Co., and 50 in the James River Co. (Value $100 each Potomac, and £100 each James River share.)

In 1795 the 50 Potomac Shares were appropriated for the erection of a University in the Federal City. The 100 James River Shares were given to Liberty Hall Academy, Rockbridge Co., Va.,—an endowment now enjoyed by Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va., where Washington's letter of presentation is framed. The donations were confirmed in perpetuity by Washington's Will.

E (p. 53).

The following is from the account-book of Robert Lewis, for which I am indebted to his grand-daughter, Mrs. Lewis Washington, a distinguished Regent of Mount Vernon.

"Robert Lewis in acc^{t} with the President of the U. S.

1791.		£. s. d.	1792.		£. s. d.
Dec. 25.	To amount of Rental rendered for this year,	314.4.0	Apr. 14.	By cash paid Battaile Muse,	39.3.5¼
	By D^{o} paid John Mauzy Surveyor for running (Robert Scott) the line between you and Scott				3.2.6
	By Cash paid Maj^{r} G. A. Washington				125.0.0
	By Do. Do.				36.0.0
	By Cash paid for taxes on your land				2.3.5
	By Do. paid Mrs. Haney agreeable to order				10.0.0
	By my commission on the whole at 10 p^{r} cent.				31.8.0
	By expences in collecting				1.10.0
					£248.7.4¼"

"1794.

By Cash remitted Howell Lewis for rent (ditto 1795, 1796) 17.9.0

By Cash remitted to Tho^{s} Greenfield who had his barn burnt in 1793, which I omitted charging 10.0.0

By cash paid L. Lewis for 40 Bus. wheat and expences ..... 28.0.0."

"1798.

By my travelling expenses to and from Frederick and Berkley collecting and attending law suits on replevins 3.0.0

By cash to Col. McGill, Attorney agt Kennedy, who proved insolvent ..... 1.4.0.

1792 Rental 302. 1.6.
1793 " 315.15.0.
1794 " 355.17.0.
1796 " 376.12.0.
1797 " 412.12.0."

Concerning the Mrs. Haney mentioned in the account, a pensioner of Washington, see Introduction.

The following has been sent me by Dr. William T. Darlington of Pittsburgh.

Mr. Robert Lewis, Spring Hill, Fauquier Cty.

Mount Vernon 4th June 1798.

Dear Sir,

Your letter of the 23rd ult° has been received.—

Mr. Airass's draught on Mr. Russell (of Alexandria) has been presented and accepted; payable in ten days.

I am glad to hear of your good luck with the eloped tenant in Berkeley county; Recovery of the Tenement is of more importance than the security of the Rest.—I am not disposed to lease it for *more* than seven years, and if you could let it for a shorter time, to a good tenant, I should prefer it;—but act from circumstances and your best judgment in the case.—If there is any defect in the old leases they must by this time, have become obvious to you, and will of course, be amended; I recollect nothing that requires alteration, if the Covenants are complied with, and if the old ones are not it is not probable new ones will.—

I am sorry to hear the unpromising account of your Wheat. Mine is bad enough, but many degrees better than the description of that in your parts; nor do I perceive any fly, as yet, amongst it; but there is sufficient time between this and harvest for the entire destruction of it by that Insect. The drought could not have been more severe with you than it was here until the 23rd ult°,—since which we have had (for my lands) a superabundance of Rain. If it had continued a few days longer we should have made neither oats nor Hay—and our Pastures would have starved the cattle that had escaped the Winter.—What effect it might have had on the Wheat I know not, but I never form an opinion of Corn until the month of August; nor dispair of making a tolerable crop of that grain unless a drought happens when it is shooting and filling, be the weather what it may before.—

All here unite in best regards for Mrs. Lewis and yourself, and I remain your Affect^e uncle G. WASHINGTON.

(Endorsed.)

ALEX. O. INNE Free.

MR. ROBERT LEWIS Spring Hill Fauquier C^ty.
Recom^d to the care of
Mr. Ja^s. Lewis Fredericksburgh. G. WASHINGTON."

The following is from the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.

Fredericksburg, March [Postmarked 7] 1801.

GENTLEMEN,

I am fav^d with your circular letter respecting Mrs. Washington's wish to surrender into the hands of the Executors of the late Gen^l Washington, all that part of her life Estate at present taxable,—which derives her no profit, and yet is in her possession.—I cannot but agree with you in opinion that such property as would be inconvenient to divide should be sold.—The Kenhawa Lands ought to be an exception—These are extensive—nearly equal in quality taken agregately, and might with very little trouble or difficulty be divided—At all events it is my wish, and would be carrying into effect the desires of the Testator.—To elucidate, however, my ideas more clearly, I will only add, shou'd any obstacle arise in the division of the above property (which I do not anticipate at present) I wou'd have you to understand that no impediment is to be expected from me in your proceedings, as I am clearly determined to go with the majority of Legatees, and will aid and assist the Executors in the execution of their duty all that lies in my power.—I am, Gentlemen, Respectfully,

Your mo. Ob^t Ser^t

ROB^T LEWIS.

Endorsed.

The Executors to the Estate of the late Gen^l Washington now at Mount Vernon.

F (Pp. 75, 160, 248).

The beginnings of Washington City brought into the District of Columbia a large number of folk who seemed to regard it as the abode of freedom to an extent which the chief landowner on the Virginia side of the river had vainly contested. The following, to Bushrod Washington, is owned by Mr. O. L. Sypher of New York.

Philadelphia, Jan^{y} 8th 1792.

Dear Bushrod,

I have long suspected—but such has been my situation for some years back that I have not been able to ascertain the fact—that a tract of about 1200 acres w– I hold on four-mile-run near Alexandria has had the wood thereon dealt pretty freely with by unauthorized persons in its vicinity. The enclosed from Mr. Whiting gives information of a particular Act. He is directed in a letter of this date to wait upon Col^{o} Little; and with such proofs of the trespass as he can obtain to call upon you therewith. If they shall appear to you indubitable, I am resolved—as an example—to punish the agressors; and pray you to issue a process against them, and prosecute the same in the name of George Aug^{e} Washington as my Attorney, who I think has been announced as such in the Gazettes of Alexandria and Richmond; and, I presume, has a power from me to that effect.

Lest any misconception of Whiting's should lead me or you into an error, I beg you will, when an opportunity shall present itself, enquire of Col^{o} Little whether the Hoop poles were, incontestibly, taken from my land; who the persons are that did it—and whether there can be any demur to the propriety (legality I mean) of bringing the suit in the name

of G. A. Washington as my Attorney—not being willing to have my own name called in Court on this occasion.

Your aunt joins me in best wishes, and the compliments of the season to you and Nancy,—and I am your sincere friend and

affectionate uncle

G° Washington."

Col. Charles Little was a friend of Washington and one of his pallbearers.

G (Pp. 76 and 192).

Washington was so reserved in religious matters that every word of that kind may be regarded as well weighed. The subjoined letters may here be placed on record. The first letter is in possession of the Rev. Dr. J. G. Van Slyke, pastor of the First Reformed Church of Kingston, N. Y., to the consistory of which it was written in reply to a congratulation on the close of the war.

GENTLEMEN,

I am happy in receiving this public mark of the esteem of the Minister Elders and Deacons of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in Kingston.

Convinced that our religious liberties were as essential as our civil, my endeavors have never been wanting to encourage and promote the one while I have been contending for the other—and I am highly flattered by finding that my efforts have met the approbation of so respectable a body.

In return for your kind concern for my temporal and eternal happiness, permit me to assure you that my wishes are reciprocal—and that you may be enabled to hand down your Religion pure and undefiled to a Posterity worthy of their ancestors is the fervent prayer of

Gent^{n}.

y^{r} most obed^{t} serv^{t},

G^{o} WASHINGTON.

Kingston
16th Nov. } 1782.

A letter to Gen. Knox (for which I am indebted to the New England Historic-Genealogical Society) concludes as follows:

"Mrs. Washington joins me in offering compliments of congratulation to Mrs. Knox and yourself on the increase of your family by the birth of a son; and I pray you to accept the acknowledgment of my sense of the honor you have conferred on me by giving him my name. I hope he will live to enjoy it long after I have taken my departure for the world of Spirits, and that he may prove a blessing and comfort to you both in your declining years."

This was written Jan. 10, 1788. The boy died in 1797. In a note of sympathy on the death of another of his children Washington wrote to the same friend (8 Sept. 1791): "He that gave, you know, has a right to take away. His ways are wise—they are inscrutable—and irresistible."

The next letter is to the Rev. Joseph Buckminster.

New York, December 23, 1789.

Sir,

Your letter of the 27th of November and the discourse which it enclosed have been duly read. I consider the sermon on the death of Sir William Pepperell which you were so good as to send me by the desire of Lady Pepperell his Relict as a mark of attention from her which required my particular acknowledgments; and I am sorry that the death of that lady, which I see is announced in the public papers, prevents my thanks being returned to her for her respect and good wishes. You, sir, will please accept them for yourself in forwarding the discourse, and my request that they may be added to the Revd Clark with my approbation of the doctrine therein inculcated.

I am, Sir, yrs &ca

Go Washington.

This letter to Dr. Buckminster is especially notable, because, though the larger part was dictated, Washington has

added in his own hand his approbation of the doctrine of the discourse. It is doubtful if in all his writings similar approval of any statement of doctrine can be found. The title of the able discourse alluded to is "A Sermon occasioned by the Death of the Honourable Sir William Pepperell, Bart., Lieut. Gen. in His Majesty's Service, etc., who died at his Seat in Kittery, July 6, 1759; Preached the next Lord's Day after his Funeral by Benjamin Stevens, A.M., Pastor of the First Church in Kittery. Boston, etc., 1759." The text selected for this most eminent personage of Maine—the only native of America ever baroneted, though two were knighted (Fitch and Randolph)—was from the 82nd Psalm, "But ye shall die like men." Referring to the previous part of the verse (7), "I have said ye are Gods," the preacher said that rulers might in a sense be properly so styled, because governments being appointed of God, magistrates were His representatives. He defined God as a moral governor, engaged in a great plan of wisdom and benevolence. "As this world is not a state of Retribution, it is requisite that these earthly Gods should be removed by Death as well as other Men, in order to compleat the Plan of the Divine Government. Indeed the great ends of the moral administration of God seem to require this, to suppress the progress of vice and promote virtue and goodness in the present state, but especially for the final adjustment of all things with equity." This, probably, is the doctrine of which Washington intimates his approval.

It will be seen by the references in the letters to Pearce, to Alexandria clergymen, that Washington kept on strict business relations with them. This is further shown by the following letter concerning a clergyman whom he held in much esteem,—the Rev. David Griffith (1741–1789), the first Bishop elect of the Virginia Convention (1786), but not ordained because the expenses of a journey to England could not be raised. This letter, at once kind and cautious, has

been loaned me by Llewellyn Hoxton Esq. (of the Episcopal High School, Alexandria), a grandson of Mr. Griffith. It is addressed to the Hon. Charles Carroll of Carrolton.

Mount Vernon Apr^{l} 5th 1786.

Sir,

The Rev^{d} Mr. Griffith, who will present this letter to you, is possessed of much property in the Town of Alexandria, the value of which he is desirous of increasing, by buildings.—To enable him to do this, he wishes to borrow, on interest about Two thousand five hundred pounds.—As security for such a loan, he is willing to mortgage his interest in the above place, and proposes as a further security, to offer other means.—The nature of all, he will explain to you. They are, in my opinion, amply sufficient; such as I should not hesitate to take if I had the money to lend; but you will be able to judge more fully of the matter when they are laid before you. From a long and intimate acquaintance with Mr. Griffith, I have a high opinion of his worth, and entire dependence on his representations, which (as he may, in some degree, be a stranger to you) I have thought it a piece of Justice to mention—

I have the honor to be—Sir,

Y^{r} Most Obed^{t} H^{bl} Ser

G^{o} Washington.

H (pp. 89 and 134).

Lund Washington (1737–1796), several times referred to in the letters to Pearce, managed Mount Vernon for 25 years, retiring in 1785. His degree of relationship to the General, probably unknown to either of them, may be traced in the Introduction. He married Elizabeth Foote (1782). He is chiefly known by Washington's rebuke (in the famous letter of 1781) of his over-loyalty to the owner of Mount Vernon, which, after his own severe losses, led him to conciliate the British officers with refreshments from Mount Vernon; but the subjoined letters, and others, show that Washington was always grateful to Lund Washington, but for whom his property might have gone to ruin. After the revolution Lund remained with the General, who parted from him with reluctance. "Mr. Lund Washington," he writes to Dr. William Gordon (20 April 1786), "having expressed a wish to quit business and live in retirement and ease, I could not oppose his inclination, and his having carried these desires into effect, that kind of business which he usually transacted for me is now thrown on my shoulders, in addition to what they bore before, and has left me less time than ever for my numerous correspondences and other avocations." Lund resided in the neighborhood, until his death, however, his residence being known as "Hayfield,"—1200 acres.

The original of the following letter is in possession of Mr. Grenville Kane, of New York.

Head Q^{rs} Middlebrook, Dec. the 18th 1778.

Dear Lund,

Your letter of the 9th Inst^{t} came to my hands this day after I had dispatched a long letter to you by Col^{o} Harrison—The quantity of land mentioned therein, as appears by my plats,

is I dare say, the exact number of acres held by M.; for more than which he ought not to expect payment—The three small quantities which serve to compose the aggregate 480½ are (I presume) those which lye on Muddy hole—the North-side of the Main Road joining Wade's and my line—and on the South adjoining Manley and me—This as it is by actual and careful measurement and intended for my own satisfaction and government, does I am persuaded, contain to the utmost inch all that he holds; and chearfully acquiesce in it as just—But at all events fix the matter with him by a resurvey or any other way to close the bargain; letting him know however, that if it is resurveyed and the Surveyor makes it less than 480½ I shall pay for no more than is found by the last survey (if it should even fall short of 400 a[c]res) and unless you have conditioned to the contrary, I shall expect, as the survey will be made to gratifie him, that it will be done at his expense and by the Surveyor of the County—or at least a sworn Surveyor.—you will see that the chain is full 33 feet in length.

With respect to the small slipes which he engaged to let me have, the matter taken up in a strict sense, may be determined in a moment, by only solving a single question—to wit—did he, or did he not agree to take 40/. an acre for the Land in the event of not getting Alexander's?—If he did not do this, the matter is at an end, because there is not in that case room for even the shadow of argument—If he did, where is the hardship of it?—or in other words, why is it a greater hardship to receive money (short of one's wishes) for lands sold, than for any other thing.—The money which General Weedon was to pay you is due for Lands I sold Doct[r] Mercer and for the very purpose of enabling me to pay for this and other Lands in that Neck as opportunities might present; what difference then is there in the cases more than in the Sum?—and a case still more in point is, that the very money advanced Alexander was in fact for the payment of this land

of M's.—It is not harder then upon him to suffer a part than for me the whole—Such local disadvantages as these are to be placed to the misfortunes of the times—some men indeed are benefitted by them while others are ruined—I do not it is true come in under the latter class (so far as it extends to ruin) but I believe you know, that by the comparative worth of money, six or seven thousand pounds which I had in Bonds upon Interest is now reduced to as many hundreds because I can get no more for a thousand at this day than a hundred would have fetched when I left Virginia—Bonds, Debts, Rents (in Cash) and annuities undergoing no change while the currency is depreciating every day in value and for ought I know may in a little time be totally sunk.

I do not labour this point because I expect much from it, but simply to shew Mr. M. the light in w^{ch} he should consider the matter if he has a mind to act upon such principles as ought to actuate every honest man—and to shew him moreover the falacy and error of his arguments when he endeavours to prove that I have derived benefits from his Land which he has not experienced from Alexanders—The falacy of them—because if I have taken the timber of [f], it is not there, consequently the land now is of so much less value—The error of them—inasmuch as I am exceedingly mistaken if he has not inclosed and worked part of Alexanders Land—which (now I am upon the subject) is a matter that you ought to enquire into, as I have some recollection of Alexanders telling me, that he had not only put M. in possession of the whole, or such part of the land as he wanted, but that the Rents which usually came to him ceased; intimating, that the bargain between him, me, and M. was so far compleated as that he no longer received the Rents or act. of them nor was I to expect Interest for the money lent him—If therefore I am to pay M. for his whole land at the price now agreed at by the acre, and to receive no Interest from Alexander I shall be very prettily handled between the two.

This circumstance is mentioned for your government; at the same time I leave you at full liberty to close the bargain with M. on any terms if you should even be obliged to allow as much for the slipes as other parts of his land and even to come up to 500 acres for the quantity as I neither wish to disappoint you, or be disappointed myself in our present views —You will do the best you can to have justice done me— their impositions afterw^{ds} I must submit to as a tax to dishonorable men.

Among these plats which contained the quantity of M's land you will also find one which shews the contents of those tracts I bought of the two Ashfords and Simon Pearson, which with so much of the waste land (taken up by me) as lyes above the tumbling dam shews (after taking of [f] what Mr. Triplet is to get) the amount of what you are to have of me, and how far it will fall short of the purchase from M., thereby enabling you to make a proper settlement—If you find more than one plat of these Lands (as I think there is) the last is the truest and most correct.

It is not reasonable that Mr. Triplet should remain longer out of the land which he is to get in exchange for his by my Mill Race as there is no prospect of my seeing home this Winter; and yet I really am at a loss to find out how it can be done without my being present, as no person knows the true and complex state of that matter as well as I do—Nevertheless if he desires it, I will give you the best direction I can in order that possession may be given him this winter.—The way that I always expected and wished to have it done was, to extend a line from the bridge, at the head of the race by the tumbling dam to the little branch between that and Morris's field at the road leading thither—thence by a direct line to the County road, as (if my memory serves me) my fence runs; This, if the fence is removed in, as I think it was six or seven years ago, will give as many acres as I shall receive between the race and the line of my new Patent.—

but if it should not, then to pay for the difference at whatever the land would sell for at the time of ascertaining the several quantity we give and take—even if it should be £50 p^{r} acre.—If Mr. Triplet will agree to this, the matter, so far as respects the land, and the use of it to both of us may be settled at any time; and a sum may also be deposited in his hands to be adjusted hereafter; which will prevent his suffering any delay or injustice on acc^{t} of the money he is to receive—Or if this will not do, from his apprehension that he shall give more land than he will get (in which I think he will be mistaken, if I am not wrong in my ideas respecting the removal of my fence which was done to this very view) I would in order to satisfie him, and bring the matter as far as possible to a close and without further delay let the line from the branch at the Road as before mentioned bear a little more to the right to include a little more land—a measure of this kind must remove every difficulty and will certainly give content—The legal fees of the County surveyor in ascertaining this work would amount to the value of both pieces of land; for not knowing, or not depending the circumstances, or with a view perhaps to increase his fees, he would survey Harrisons patent (on which Mr. Triplet lives)—Pearsons (the Patentee of which I do not recollect)—my Land, lately taken up as waste—and part perhaps of that I bought of George Ashford—all of which may be avoided by the mode I speak of; and the disadvantage resulting from the want of a final settlement thrown upon me, by giving him more land, and more money, than he will be entitled to upon a fair and impartial measurement of the exchanged tracts—If you and Mr. Triplet should agree without anything further from me, have a stone, or a locust Post fixed at the Road for the corner.

With respect to your bargain with Lanphire I can say nothing—I wish every contract that I make, or that is made for me should be fulfilled according to the strict and equitable sense of it—and this in the present case you must be a

better judge of than I am—if at the time of engaging him the extra allowance of Corn etc more was expected and promised than has been performed you are certainly under no obligation to comply with your part till he has fulfilled his—if on the other hand he has fulfilled his you are bound to comply altho it may prove hard—But from your statement of the case, the true and equitable construction of the bargain seems to me to be that he ought to have the corn and wool, but should be obliged to continue his and servants labor at their present wages till the covered way and such work as was particularised or had in contemplation at y^{e} time is finished.—Without this his wages will be monstrous, the end not answered—and what neither of you at the time could possibly have in view—I therefore think that this is the proper footing to place it on, and tho slow he had better be kept on those terms till you can at least bring his wages within the bounds of moderation by time if he should not quite compleat the work expected of him.—The Corn (which I am told Q^{r} Master Finnie is now giving six pounds p. Bar^{l} for) should be delivered to him by little at a time for if he gets the whole at once you may, I suppose, catch him as you can.

I come now to mention a matter which more particularly respects yourself—The depreciation of money and the sudden rise in the price of produce in the course of this year and other things principally to this cause owing render your present wages especially under short crops totally inadequate to your trouble and services—I am therefore willing that you sh^{d} receive a certain part of the last crop, to be disposed of by you for your own benefit—and so in future—this will give you the reward of y^{r} industry without subjecting you to the peculiar hardship resulting from depreciation as it is presumable that the price of produce will rise in proportion to the fall of the other—I do not at this time ascertain what the part shall be, because I wish you to say what you think is just and right—that it is my full wish to give, and more I do not

think you would ask, therefore we cannot disagree.—Being little acquainted with the produce of my estate, amount of Crop etc is the reason of my wishing to leave the matter to yourself as it is my first wish that you should be satisfied.

Mr. Archer has got the letter you inclosed—and I have only to add that I am sincerely and affectionately, y^{rs}

G^{o}. Washington.

For the two following letters I am indebted to Mr. H. R. Treadwell, of New York:

West-point Sep^{r} 14th 1779.

Dear Lund,

Your letter of the 25th ult^{o} which ought to have come by the last Post, and the one of the 1st inst^{t}, both came to my hands yesterday.

Two reasons induced me to except the M——s when I desired you to decline receiving payment of any more old Bonds—the one was a presumption that theirs actually were paid—the other that you might be under obligation or promise to receive them, and I never choose to be worse than my word—What has passed between you and Mr. M. on this subject, and how far it is obligatory on me you are the best judge—What were the precise words of my answer to your quære, concerning Mr. M's proposition, I cannot at this time say—the idea that filled my mind at the time I perfectly well recollect—and it was this—If Mr. M. possessed so little honor—I may say honesty—as to attempt paying me two shillings in the pound for a debt he was greatly indulged in (—the depreciation at the time he made the offer not exceeding this)—I must be content; for knowing nothing of your Laws, and being unwilling that any act of mine should injure the currency, I chose to make no difficulties in the case if the loss of the whole debt should be the consequence of it.—but why he should withhold payment from that time to this when less

than a shilling in the pound will pay it, he can acc^{t} better than I.—Might he not with the same parity of reason—if the depreciation is still going on—wait six months longer and pay me with sixpence or even a penny in the pound?—Surely yes; and the palpable and obvious injustice of it needs no comment, though I will give an instance in proof.—About the time he offered you this money Marshall's Land was bought for £12 p^{r} acre, and I presume Barry's might then have been had for the same.—If Marshall was in possession of his Land again could I get it for that money?—Is Barry's to be had for it?—This proves at once the difference between paying the money at the time he offered it and now.—You say he may think it hard to receive money in one way and pay it in another,—in other words to receive at the nominal, and pay at the real value. This may or may not be so according to the time these debts were contracted, and the circumstances attending them, for if they are of recent date both parties knew what they were about, so far at least as to make it a mere matter of judgment between themselves; each having equal knowledge of the depreciation at the time of the contract, and forming their own judgment of the consequences of it.—If the sales which you speak of his having made of his Father's Estate for the purpose of paying this debt of mine and others, are of old standing, how comes he to be without the money at this day?—He cannot have had it by him, because he would have paid it to me at the time profered, and stopped interest, if this had been the case—and if it is not, why did he not receive the money in time, and why will he receive nothing (I may say) for something now?—Besides, I make some distinction between a bond given for payment of a sum of money at a future period, and money lent to be returned upon demand—the first is subject to the contingencies which may happen between the periods of contracting and paying—the other being on demand puts it in the power of the lender to call in his money upon any unfavour-

able appearances, or have it secured to him in any manner he likes; and Mr. M. cannot but be sensible that letting his Father's bond lay, and at length taking his own bond for payment of a certain sum instead of pressing payment of the whole, was a mere matter of favor and indulgence; how well requited I shall be for these, his own feelings must determine if I am to receive a shilling or 8^{d} pence in the pound.—But in all matters of this kind as I mentioned to you in a former letter, I had much rather you would advise with, and pursue the advice of, some sensible Whigs who are known to be men of discernment, and of honor and probity (that are acquainted with the laws and practises of the State in like cases) than to consult, and refer things to me, who am totally unacquainted with both—[*Remainder of letter lost.*]

Newburgh, 25th Dec^{r} 1782.

Dear Lund,

I approve of your conduct with respect to Dow's Land and am very glad you have bought it whether I get Dulany's or not, as I have no idea of loosing by it if it will Rent for £120 p^{r} ann.—which is more than the Virginia Interest of the sum given though less than what I am to pay for the loan of it in this State.—This circumstance, independent of the desire I have to repay the money borrowed in this State makes it indispensably necessary to collect my Rents—my debts—and to use every means possible to raise money to answer this purpose. I have already mentioned A——'s debt—he has not the slightest pretensions to further indulgence, and there may be other debts (which do not strike me at this moment) the payment of which may be demanded with equal propriety.—to enable me to judge of this, I shall be obliged to you to send me a list of my Bonds—(I suppose Mr. Custis took all his after the settlement made by Col. Mason)—the sums for which they are given—and what Interest is due on them.—I used, if I recollect right to keep a list of the Ballances when

I settled my acc^{ts}—if this is to be found in my Ledger, and no alterations have taken place since, I wish to have a copy of this also.

As it does not appear that you had any notice from Mr. [Edmund] Randolph (the Attorney General) to whom I had committed the management of the business relative to the affairs of Col^{o} Mercer and his mortgagees—nor no authentic information or proof of Mr. Jn^{o} Mercer's having complied with the requisition of the Court respecting the security, I think you acted with proper caution in withholding the Bonds —but as there can be no doubt of the decree—and as I wish very much to get quit of the business, it is my earnest desire that the Bonds and other securities and money (if any there be) in your hands may be given up when he has done this, and upon the passing of a proper receipt for them.—An acc^{t} should also be rendered of the money that has been received and how applied, that the produce of the Sales agreeably to my report thereof to the Court may be accounted for.—This is all the decree requires of me, nor should I be willing to give up (more than copies of) the Sales and other Original Papers; depriving myself thereby, if it should thereafter be found necessary, of the only means by which a proper account of my transaction of this business could be rendered.—The Attorney General has been furnished with copies of the Power of attorney under which I acted.—Acc^{ts} of sales in Berkeley—also of those in Loudoun—with a memorandum respecting the Latter and the purchasers, from whom Mr. Mercer conveniently can—if it is necessary—obtain Copies at any time.—The only money that has ever passed through my hands was the Bills of Loan Office certificates—amounting to 1392 Dollars which were sold in Phil^{a} by Ch^{s} Petitt Esq. at my request and the money placed in the Virginia Funds agreeably to the request of James Mercer Esq^{r}.—I say this from the information of Mr. Petitt, who wrote me to this effect—the Bills sold at 35 for 1.—That you may be certain

of pursuing a proper and cautious conduct on this occasion I have requested the Attorney General as you will see by the Inclosed letter to him—left open for your perusal—and to be sealed and forwarded immediately by Post to give you his Sentiments.—There should be a particular enumeration of the Bonds and other Papers which are surrendered—a lumping receipt may be liable to exceptions from the generality of it, in case of disputes hereafter.

If you purchase the Young horse belonging to the Estate of Mr. Custis, I should be glad to get him; and shall think it rather hard if so small a part of my Debt cannot be received by way of discount, when I am willing to forbeare and have not the smallest intention of putting the Estate to the least inconvenience to pay what it owes me. On this subject I wrote Mr. Dandridge a Post or two ago, but if the Sale did really take place on the 20th, agreeably to the advertisement, I do not suppose the Letter reached him previous to it.—I should have been well pleased to have got both the Horses; but readily relinquished one that the produce of the Sale might be applied to the wants of the Estate.

I observe what you say respecting the Flowering Shrubs and other Ornamental Trees at the N° end of the House—and as the locusts by the goodness of their growth may lay claim to an establishment there—I wish that the afore-mentioned shrubs and ornamental and curious trees may be planted at both ends that I may determine hereafter from circumstances and appearances which shall be the grove and which the wilderness. It is easy to extirpate Trees from any spot but time only can bring them to maturity.

In a drawer in the Locker of the Desk which stands in my study you will find two small (fore) teeth; which I beg of you to wrap up carefully, and send inclosed in your next letter to me.—I am positive I left them there, or in the secret drawer in the locker of the same desk.

Mrs. Washington and myself are sorry to hear that Mrs.

Washington has been delivered of a dead child, but very glad to find she is so well after it.—We have nothing new and are beginning to be hard bound in frost.

I am sincerely and affect^{ly}

y^{rs}

G° Washington.

P.S. When the case will admit of it—The Trees and Flowering Shrubs that are transplanted to the ends of the House have a better chance of living if taken from the open fields than the woods.—In the first case they have been more accustomed to bear drought and are hardier than those taken from the Woods, where sun, winds, frost, nor drought has had much power on them,—and besides are handsomer."

The allusion to his teeth in the foregoing letter may lend a certain interest to the following note (loaned me by Dr. Coutant of Tarrytown,) from Washington's dentist.

New York, Jan'y 11, 1799.

Sir,

Your Letter of the 6th with the two enclosed Bills, containing fifteen dollars, came safe to my hands, for which I Return you thanks. I will Rite and let you know if I Remove from here, and where to, as I meain to perform for you in my present professional line when I have done with every other person.

I am Sir your very humble Servant

John Greenwood.

L^{t}. G. George Washington Esq.

P.S. I never make any Charge Against you either in book or other ways."

Edmund Randolph, whose legal services are alluded to in the third letter to Lund Washington, (see also p. 134) refused to accept payment from Washington, though such services

were continued for many years. In a letter of 17 July 1784 Randolph writes to Washington: "You will excuse me, I hope, from accepting fees for any business which I may execute for you in the line of my profession. It is indeed a poor mode of acknowledging the repeated acts of friendship which I have experienced at your hands, but I beg to be gratified in this, the usual way in which lawyers give some small testimony of their attachment. The grants [i.e. of lands, secured by Randolph for Washington] which accompany this letter are of a bulky nature, but I thought I ought to enclose them by post, the stage having been found in one instance not to be the most certain conveyance."

I (p. 103).

For the following letter I am indebted to Ferdinand Dreer Esq., of Philadelphia.

Mount Vernon, 24 May —99.

THOMSON MASON, ESQ.

SIR,

I mean to renew the outer fence, on the line between you and me,—and in a manner more substantial than usual.

Mr. Anderson will explain the method by w^{ch} I propose to accomplish this, to you, and ask your leave to profit by your Ditch, and present fence:—which can be attended with no temporary inconvenience to yourself—and may, ultimately, be of singular advantage to you, as well as myself; as my fence may subserve your purposes as well as my own. With esteem and regard

I am—Sir

Your most Obed^{t} H^{ble} Serv^{t}

G^{o} WASHINGTON.

J (p. 130).

Washington's cosmopolitan ideas of farming made him curious in breeds of cattle, and particularly of pigs. In 1788 Gouverneur Morris offered to send him a couple of Chinese pigs, "and in conpany with the pigs shall be sent a pair of Chinese geese, which are really the foolishest geese I ever beheld; for they choose all times for setting but in the spring, and one of them is even now [November] actually engaged in that business." To which Washington responds, "You will be pleased to accept my thanks for the *exotic animals* which you are meditating to send me." (Constance Cary Harrison in the *Century*, April 1889.) Washington made an effort to improve these pigs, which are alluded to in the following letter, loaned me by Mr. O. L. Sypher, of New York.

Philadelphia, 14th Feb. 1796.

Bushrod Washington, Esq., Richmond in Va.

Dear Sir,

Since my last to you, relative to my Executorship of Colº Colvell's Estate, I sent as therein mentioned, to the person from whom I had purchased the Guinea, or Chinese Hogs which you saw at my Mill; and obtained two; a boar and a sow;—the latter with Pig. He informed me, however, that they were not of the *whole* blood,—but, in his opinion, improved from their mixture with another breed of Hogs, which he has.—They were accompanied with as much Corn as would serve them—plentifully—on the passage, and ordered immediately to the Vessel, which was on the point of sailing, and did sail yesterday; and a receipt to be taken therefor

and brought to me.—This not being received until today, I was surprised, (but too late to remonstrate ag^{t} it) at the freight that is charged. But it is the way we are imposed upon here in almost everything.—My love to Mrs. Washington, w^{ch} your aunt joins.—I am always, and affect^{ly} Yours

G° Washington.

K (p. 259).

Washington's Library contained a large number of works on agricultural science. The improvement of Virginia methods was a subject of consultation between him and his connection, Landon Carter, of Cleve, (1750–1810) whose scientific studies excited the attention of Dr. Rush. The original of the following letter to Landon Carter is in possession of Mrs. Lewis Willis Minor, of Norfolk, Va., whose husband was a grandson of Landon Carter, who was a descendant of the famous "King Carter," administrator of Lord Fairfax's vast estates.

Mount Vernon, 17th Oct. 1796.

Sir,

The letter with which you have favoured me, dated the 28th ult. came duly to hand.

A few months more will put an end to my political existence, and place me in the shades of Mount Vernon under my Vine and Fig Tree; where at all times I should be glad to see you.

It is true (as you have heard) that to be a cultivator of Land has been my favorite amusement;—but it is equally true that I have made very little proficiency in acquiring knowledge either in the principles or practice of Husbandry. My employments through life, have been so diversified—my absences from home have been so frequent, and so long at a time, as to have prevented me from bestowing the attention, and from making the experiments which are necessary to establish facts in the Sience of Agriculture.—And now, though I may amuse myself in that way for the short time I may remain on this Theatre, it is too late in the day for *me* to commence a scientific course of experiments.

Your thoughts on the mode of cultivating Indian corn, appeared to me, to be founded in reason,—and a judicious management of the Soil for different purposes, is as highly interesting to, as it has been neglected by, the People of this Country; to the consequent destruction of much valuable land.—

How to restore it to its original fruitfulness;—and to increase the means by Stercoraries etc.; to preserve it in that or an improving state;—what rotation in crops is best adapted to soils, of different qualities, in order to keep our fields in health and vigour, and at the same time to derive *immediate* profit from them, are the great desiderata of the Husbandman.

It is what the People of the interior parts of our country must come to soon, or emigrate to the exterior parts of it for subsistence on more productive Soil.

Nothing has contributed, nor will any thing contribute more to effect these desirable purposes than the establishment of Agricultural Societies in this, as they have been in other countries: that the community may derive advantages from the experiments and discoveries of the more intelligent communicator through such channels.—Besides the numerous local Societies which are to be found in all parts of Great Britain and Ireland, a national one is now established under the auspices of the government of those countries; which will, I conceive, be found among the most useful and beneficial institutions in them, if it is prosecuted with as much assiduity as it has commenced, under Presidency of Sir Jn° Sinclair—

I shall always feel myself obliged by your communicating any useful discovery in Agriculture; and for the favourable sentiments you have been pleased to express for me, I pray you to accept the thanks of

Sir,

Your most obed^{t} and very H^{ble} Servant

G° Washington.

L (p. 272).

The gap of time between this and the succeeding document may be partly filled by the letters following. For the correspondence with Landon Carter of Cleve I am indebted to his great grandson, L. M. Blackford, Principal of the Episcopal High School, near Alexandria, Va.

Philadelphia, 27th Feb., 1797.

Landon Carter, Esq.

Sir:

Your favor of the 14th inst. came duly to hand; and I hope, as the season is approaching fast when the ground should be prepared for it, that you have informed Mr. James Anderson (my manager) in a letter directed to the care of the Postmaster in Alexandria, at what time he may send for the Peas you were so obliging as to promise me.

Having informed Mr. Anderson of my expectation of Peas from you, he suggested (and I thought it a good expedient) that instead of sending my own Waggon along the heavy road between Mount Vernon and Stafford Court House, that one should be hired by you to transport them to some landg on the Potomack at which my Boat at an appointed time, might meet them.—As the roads, I am told, were never worse than at present; and as no road in the world can be deeper or more distressing for horses to plunge through than the one from Occoquan to Stafford Court House; the expedient before mentioned has, in a manner, become essential: and I will cheerfully add the cost of Waggonage to the price of the Peas, and pay the whole by your order; or remit it in Bank notes as soon as the amount is made known to me.

As delay or uncertainty in any respect, may prove injurious, I have put this letter (open) under cover to Mr. Anderson,

with a request that he may also write you on the subject, for the purpose of having a time and place fixed, that my Boat may not be disappointed when it arrives.—The matter therefore now rests between you, and him.—

With great esteem
I am—Sir
Your Obedient H^ble^ Serv.
G° WASHINGTON.

Mount Vernon, 3^d^ March 1797.

LANDON CARTER, ESQ.

SIR:

At the request of the President of the United States I have to beg leave to hand His letter under the same cover with this.

I have only to add to that wrote by the President—that the sooner you have 40 Bushels of the White Indian pease, with black eyes—ready, you will the more Oblidge the President, I do not wish any of the small kind either the round kind called the Gentlemen pease, nor of the other small kind, which resemble the large—It is not for sale that I intend raising them—Our Stock of Sheep being upward of 600 and probably may increase them, These pease are meant to be fed away to them, which with the assistance of Turnip will (you know) make an excellent Winter food—Have you any of the grey pease raised in the County of Glocester, under the name of the Yeatman pea? If so, It will be conferring a still greater Obligation Your leting us have 2 Bushels of them.

As I will raise a little Cotton for Mrs. Washington, please send us 2 Bushels of the seed of white Cotton, such as you can recomend, and place this with the Carriage &c to the same account.

Your Superior knowledge of the Potomack and its Creeks makes me refer the place of delivery to Yourself. May therefore please mention the nearest and most convenient Shiping

place on this River, or its Creeks for Your delivery. And such as our Boat will come into.—She draws 2 to 3 feet water when Loaded—I will expect the favor of hearing from you on receipt hereof. And will be sure to send when and where you direct being with much respect

Sir

Your most Obed^{t}

Humble Serv^{t}

Jas. Anderson."

The next letter (for which I am indebted to my friend Dr. F. B. Coutant, of Tarrytown) is unsigned. It is in Washington's handwriting, and endorsed by him: "From Mrs. Washington to Col. Humphreys, 26 June 1797."

Mount Vernon, June 26th 1797.

Dear Sir,

Your polite and obliging letter of the 18th of Feb^{y} came safe to my hands as did the gold chain which you have presented me with as a token of your remembrance. I wanted nothing to remind me of the pleasure we have had in your company at this place; but shall receive the chain notwithstanding, as an emblem of your friendship, and shall value it accordingly.

About the middle of March we once more (and I am very sure never to leave it again) got seated under our own Roof, more like new beginners than old established residenters, as we found everything in a deranged, and the buildings in a decaying state.

Poor Mrs. Stuart has had very ill health for the last six or eight months but is better now. Her two oldest daughters as you know, or have heard, are both married, and each have a daughter, Nelly lives as usual with us, to all of whom I have presented you in the terms you required, and all reciprocate your kind wishes in an affectionate manner. Mr. Lear who

often visits us, has lost his second wife more than a year ago. Mr. Lund Washington died in August last. Our circle of friends of course is contracted, without any disposition on our part to enter into *new friendships* though we have an abundance of acquaintances and a vast variety of visitors. Dr. Craik is alive and enjoys tolerably good health, but Mrs. Craik declines fast. They have lately lost their second daughter, Mrs. West, who has left five young children.

Perceiving from your letter to Mr. W. that you were upon the eve of an important change, I wish you every possible happiness in it. With very great esteem and regard

I am Dear Sir

Yr obed't Hble Serv't.

M (p. 275).

During the last year of her husband's presidency Mrs. Washington had aged greatly, and indeed remained an invalid to the close of her life (1802). The unhappy separation from old friends, through political differences (alluded to in her letter to Col. Humphreys, Appendix L) was accompanied by domestic worries, some of which are indicated in the following letters, which fall within the long interval left by the Pearce Letters. For the first I am indebted to Mr. O. L. Sypher, of New York.

Mount Vernon, 3 Nov^{r} 1797.

Bushrod Washington, Esq., Richmond.

My Dear Sir,

Your letter of the 30th ult. was received by the last Post.

Your aunt's distresses for want of a good housekeeper are such as to render the wages demanded by Mrs. Forbes (though unusually high) of no consideration; and we must, though very reluctantly, yield to the time she requires to prepare for her fixture here. We wish however that it might be shortened.

If you are in habits of free communication with Mr. Brooke or with others who had opportunities of judging competently of the qualifications and conduct of Mrs. Forbes as a housekeeper, I would thank you for ascertaining and giving it to me in as precise a manner as you can obtain it. Among other things it would be satisfactory to know—

What countrywoman she is?

Whether Widow or Wife? if the latter

Where her husband is?

What family she has?

What her age is?

Of what temper?

Whether active and spirited in the execution of her business?

Whether sober and honest?

Whether much knowledge in Cookery, and understands ordering and setting out a Table?

What her appearance is?

With other matters which may occur to you to ask,—and necessary for me to know.

Mrs. Forbes will have a warm, decent and comfortable room to herself, to lodge in, and will eat of the Victuals of our Table, but not set at it, at any time *with us*, be her appearance what it may; for if this was *once admitted*, no line satisfactory to either party, perhaps, could be drawn thereafter.—It might be well for me to know however whether this was admitted at Gov^{r} Brookes or not.

Is it practicable do you think to get a good and well-disposed negro cook on hire, or purchase?—Mention this want of ours to Mrs. Forbes. She from the interest she would have therein might make enquiry.—Yours always and affectionately

G^{o} Washington.

P.S. Since writing the foregoing Mrs. L. Washington informs me that Mr. Swan is anxious to learn from the Returns, or Records in the General Court,—or from the best information you can obtain whether it has been the invariable practice to survey the Land Docked by a writ of Ad quod damnum—whether it has frequently been dispensed with—and what has been the consequence.—Let me thank you for making this enquiry and furnishing me with the result of it. Yrs. G. W——n"

The next letter is to his nephew, Major George Lewis of Fredericksburg, for which I am indebted to his great grandson R. B. Lewis Esq. of Washington.

Mount Vernon, 13 Nov. 1797

Dear Sir,

The running off of my cook has been a most inconvenient thing to this family, and what rendered it more disagreeable in that I had resolved never to become the Master of another slave by purchase, but this resolution I fear I must break. I have endeavored to hire, black or white, but am not yet supplied. A few days ago, having occasion to write to Mr. Bushrod Washington on other matters, I asked if one could be had in Richmond. The following is his answer: "Mr. Brooke (late Governor) informs me that he had a very excellent cook, with no other fault than a fondness for liquor (which a town affords him too many opportunities of indulging), who is now in Fredericksburg and is to be sold. I shall write to the gentleman who had him not to sell him till he hears from you.—Should you, *under this character*, wish to buy or hire him, please address a letter to Mr. George Murray, of that place. He cooked for Mr. Brooke while he was in the government."

Let me ask you now to see both Mr. Murray and the man himself, and if, upon conversing fully with the latter, you should be of opinion, from the account he gives of himself, that he is a good cook and would answer my purpose, then discover the lowest terms on which he could be had by purchase, or on hire, and inform me of the result by the first post, to which an answer shall immediately be given.

I should like to know the age, and as far as you are enabled to ascertain it, the temper and looks of the man described; whether he has a wife and expects to have her along with him, and in that case, what children they have—with *her* age and occupation. By the time I can receive an answer from you I expect Mrs. Forbes, who was Governor Brooke's housekeeper, and from her own knowledge, of the person and your

account I shall be enabled to determine what answer to give. Our loves to Mrs. Lewis etc. I am your affectionate uncle

G. Washington.

Mount Vernon, 18th Decr 1797.

Bushrod Washington, Esq

My Dear Bushrod,

Your letter of the 26th ultº came safe in the usual course of the mail, and about a week ago Mrs. Forbes arrived; and from her appearance, and conduct hitherto, gives satisfaction to your aunt.—Having, as she says, obtained ten dollars of you, to defray her expences to this place; I herein return them, with thanks for the aid it afforded to get her here.—and as you may have paid for the copies of sundry papers taken from the Records of the General Court, let me know the amount and it shall be remitted also.

About a month ago a Mr. Woodward, living, according to his own account, at Greenbrier Courthouse presented draughts (of which the enclosed are copies) from the Sheriff of Kanhawa for taxes of my land in that County. I did not incline to pay the amount without making further enquiry into the matter.—Upon this he informed me that I might obtain the necessary information at the Treasury, or Auditor's Office in Richmond; to which the returns were made, and where the money might be, and often was, paid, instead of doing it to the Sheriff of the Back counties, by non-residents. You would oblige me by making this enquiry, and if the taxes are correctly stated, and the amount of them can be paid with propriety in Richmond, to inform me thereof; and measures shall be taken as soon as I am in Cash, to discharge the same. The enclosed paper, after it has enabled you to make the necessary enquiry, may be returned to me again.—The family here join me in offering you and Mrs. Washington the compliments of the approaching festival—and I am with much truth Your sincere friend and affectionate uncle

Gº Washington.

N (p. 288).

There is something pathetic in these dates. The national horizon cleared of the clouds which had threatened to call him again from his beloved Mount Vernon, there opened before the farmer a prospect of farther years in which he should enjoy his estate and his repose. His physical decline was more apparent to careful observers than to himself; among others to Landon Carter of Cleve, who, though not a physician, was a careful student. My friend L. M. Blackford (Principal of the Episcopal High School, near Alexandria) sends me a correspondence between his great-grandfather, Landon Carter, and Washington of which a portion is here inserted. In a letter dated "Cleve, King George Co., Va., 1 Oct. 1798" Landon Carter says to Washington:

"Health is a grand object with man but it becomes all important when the preservation of it in any one person comprehends all the relations of a People; when like a focus the views of all direct to a single point: Permit me therefore to lay before you some leading principles; some conclusions; and some consequent practice for the security of health.

"I believe it is a fact generally admitted, that all the works of nature are sustained by principles which, beyond a certain point, become destructive — or technically speaking, "all things contain within them the seeds of their own dissolution." In pursuance of a conviction of this truth, I sought for that principle in Man: "Dust thou art and unto dust thou shalt return" are solemn words pronounced in that last office performed by his weeping friends.

"A great modern Philosopher in his nomenclature has arranged five Elements as the constituents of all the variety

in nature. One of these I trace to the characterising the matter of Earth—the same is found, by experiment, to form the basis of oils—I therefore suppose it to be the fundamental principle of the animal Oeconomy. This principle is also found to be the basis of fixed air, and that compound is denominated an asscid. I trace many diseases to an asscid for their source when it is detained in the stomach and is taken up in too great quantities into the system. I conclude then that, by arresting that superabundance while yet in the stomach and before it is taken up I arrest incipient disease."

The letter then proceeds to give, at some length, prescriptions drawn from the writer's experience and studies. Washington's reply follows.

Mount Vernon, 5th Oct., 1798.

Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 1st inst. has been received, and if it had been convenient, I should have been glad of your company as you travelled to Annapolis.—As you propose, however, to send in your servant, and I am generally on horseback between breakfast and dinner, that he may not be delayed or disappointed, you will receive, enclosed, one letter for the Govr of Maryland (an old acquaintance of mine) and another for Mr. McDonah, President of the College.—which, I hope may answer your purposes.—They will be left under this cover for whomsoever you may send, in case I should be out.

I thank you for the trouble you have taken in delivering your thoughts on the means of preserving health. Having, through life, been blessed with a competent share of it without using preventatives against sickness, and as little medicine as possible when sick;—I can have no inducement now to change my practice.—against the effect of time and age, no remedy has ever yet been discovered;—and like the rest of

my fellow-mortals, I must (if life is prolonged) submit, and be reconciled, to a gradual decline.

With esteem and regard
I am—Dear Sir
Your Most Obed^{t} H^{ble} Serv^{t}
G^{o} Washington.

Please to put wafers in the letters before delivery.

The last year of Washington's life opened with schemes for the rounding out of his beautiful district on the Potomac. The following letter, with which I am favored by Professor Chapman Maupin, of Ellicott City, Maryland, a descendant of Lawrence Washington the immigrant, refers to a piece of land between Mount Vernon and Occoquan Creek.

Mount Vernon, 18th Mar: 1799

Capt^{N} Will^{M} Thompson.

Dear Sir,

Col. Tho^{s} Lee (of Loudoun) is possessed, I am informed, of a tract of about 400 acres of Land within a mile of Colchester, which he is disposed to sell.—Let me request the favour of you to describe it to me as accurately as you can from your *own* knowledge, or from the information of others on whose judgment you can rely.

In doing this, say what the kind and quality of the soil is;—whether level or broken;—what the nature of the growth;—what proportion is in wood;—How timbered; what tenements are on it;—the condition of them;—whether much worn and gullied, or in good heart;—and whether they are tenants at will or on leases; and what kind of leases; with the sc̃ms of improvements.—How watered also.—

To this catalogue of enquiries, permit me to ask, what, in your opinion, and the opinion of such as are acquainted with the value, and prices of land in that neighbourhood, and

situated as it is, it is worth in *Cash*—also on credit, and what credit.

I will offer no apology for giving you the trouble to make these enquiries, but shall thank you for answering them; as I have an object in requesting this kindness from you.—With esteem,

I am Dear Sir

Your Obedient H^ble^ Serv^t^

G^o^ Washington."

The original of the next letter is in possession of Dr. William T. Darlington of Pittsburgh; it is to his Manager, James Anderson, then, it would appear, on a remote part of the estate.

Mount Vernon, 8^th^ Sep. 1799.

Mr. Anderson,

Mrs. Washington passed a good night—is clear of fever today—and is taking the Bark—which I hope will prevent a return of it.

I am much hurried and pressed, with one thing and another, but do what humanity requires for Roberts:—who ought not to have engaged in the situation he is in without first informing me of it.—Dr. Craik is not *now* here;—nor *expected* if Mrs. Washington should not relapse;—but the case may be stated to him against tomorrow afternoon, when I shall send up to the Post Office.—If it be found that he is not *now*—nor soon *will* be, in a condition to discharge the duties of a miller, some other *must*, undoubtedly, be got; as I cannot loose the Fall work of the mill.—He may have medicine, or anything else from hence.

I did not send to the Post Office yesterday—of course no papers came.—I was sorry to hear of your indisposition.—I fear the charge with which you are entrusted, is too much for your health, and that to execute it properly will rather increase than diminish your complaint.

I shall therefore, so soon as company—sickness—and other circumstances will allow me time to digest my thoughts on this subject—express them to you in a more full and ample manner than I can do at present—I am always

Your friend &c[a]

G : Washington."

This volume may fitly close with the following letter to Col. Burgess Ball, to whose grandson, Col. George Washington Ball of Alexandria, I am indebted for it. Washington died eighty-three days after writing this pathetic note concerning the death of his brother Charles.

Mt. Vernon, Sept. 22d, 1799.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 16th inst. has been received, informing me of the death of my brother.

The death of near relations always produces awful and affecting emotions, under whatsoever circumstances it may happen. That of my brother has been so long expected, and his latter days so uncomfortable to himself, (*sic*) must have prepared all around him for the stroke, though painful in the effect.

I was the first, and am, now, the last of my father's children by the second marriage, who remain.

When I shall be *called upon to follow them* is known only to the Giver of Life. When the summons comes I shall endeavor to obey it with a good grace.

Mrs. Washington has been and still is very much indisposed, but unites with me in best wishes for you, Mrs. Ball, and family.

With great esteem and regard, I am, Dear Sir, your affection'te serv't

G° Washington.

INDEX.

ABINGDON, Va., lxxv.
Abram, negro, 58.
Academy, Alexandria, lxxv ; Andover, lxxxviii ; Fredericksburg, lxxxviii.
Achoactoke, river, xx.
Acquia, lxxiv.
Acrostic, Washington's, xxxvi.
Adams, Mrs. John, xlviii.
Adams, Hon. Thomas, xxxix.
Adet, French Minister, 256.
Adwick-le-Street, xvii.
Airass, Mr., 306.
Aix-la-Chapelle, lxviii.
Alexanders, xxxvi, 315.
Alexandria, relics at, lxxi ; ball at, lxxiii.
Allison, overseer, 220, 270.
Allison, Col. Thomas, 231.
Ambler, Mary (Cary), xxxvi.
Ames, Hon. Fisher, 251.
Anderson, James, manager, 263, 267, 271, 274, 327, 332, 343.
Andover, Washington at, xlviii ; academy, lxxxviii.
Archer, Mr., 320.
Arms, Washington, xiv.
Ashby, Capt., lxvii.
Ashford, George, 318.
Asses, from Spain, lxxiv, lxxv.
Association, non-importation, 299.
Atherall, Hannah, xxiv.
Augusta County, Va., xlix.
Aylett, Anne (see Washington).

BAILEY, Pierce, 106, 166, 169, 176.
Ball, arms, genealogy, etc., xxiii ; Agnes, Alice, Als, xxiii ; Anne, xxiii, xxx, 85 ; Col. Burgess, xxx, lvii, lxxxv, 11, 41, 48, 53, 54, 96, 231, 233, letters to 292, 301, 344 ; David, xxiv ; Dorothy, xxiii ; Edward, Elizabeth, xxiii ; Esther, xxiv ; Frances, xxiv ; George, xxiii ; Capt. George Washington, xxiii, 292, 344 ; Hannah, xxiv, xxxviii, xliii ; James, xxiv, xxv, 85 ; Jeduthun, 12 ; Joane, John, xxiii ; Col. Joseph, xxiv, xxx ; Joseph, xxiv, xxxi, xlii ; Margaret, xxiv ; Mary, xxiv, xxx (see Washington) ; Richard, Samuel, xxiv ; Sarah, xxxviii ; Stretchley, xxiv ; William, xxiii, xxiv, 12.
Ball, Moses, 160.
Bancroft, George, v.
Barbadoes, xxxix.
Barn, old, lxix ; bricks for new, 280.
Barney, Capt., lxxvi.
Bassett, Col. Burwell, 5, 62, 299 ; Mrs., xlvii, lxxiii.
Bassett, Ella (see Mrs. Lewis Washington).
Beattie, Dr., xi.
Belvoir, xxxiv.
Benjamin, Walter R., lxvi.
Bentley, Caleb, lxxxi ; Mrs. Richard, lxxxi.
Berkeley, Sir William, xxi.
Berkeley Springs, Va., lxiv.
Bermuda, xix.
Bible, Washington family, xix ; Lewis, l.
Bishop, servant, lxxiii, 143
Blackburn, Col., lxxvii.
Blackford, L. M., 322, 340.
Blagden, Mr., xc, 260.
Blair, President, lxxiv.
Boatswain, negro, 107, 109.
Boston, lxxi.
Boucher, Rev. Jonathan, xxix, lxxxii.
Bowcock, Capt., xci.
Braddock, xlii, lxxiii.
Braddock House, 126.
Bradford, William, attorney-general, 165, 201, 205.
Brevoort, James Carson (see Preface).

British cruisers, 59, 229.
British treaty, 168, 244.
Broadwell, Mrs., lxx.
Brooke, Gov., Va., 336.
Brown, Alexander, xix.
Browne, Judith, 53.
Brunswick, parish, Va., xxx.
Buckminster, Rev. Joseph, 311.
Burroughs, Silas, xliv.
"Bushfield," xxxi, xliii.
Bushrod, Hannah, xliv.
Busts, lxxiv.
Butler, Jane, xxvii; wife of Capt. Augustine Washington, xliv.
Butler, Lawrence, xxvii.
Butler, overseer, 16, 29, 31, 37, 92, 103, 107, 114, 146, 191.
Buttons, symbolical, lxxi.

CANDLES, funeral, lxxi.
Carlyle, Col., lxxv.
Carnagie, Rev., xxiv.
Caroline, servant, 253.
Carroll, Hon. Charles, lxiv, 313.
Carter, Betty (Lewis), l, lxi.
Carter, Charles, lvii, lxxvi.
Carter, Landon, lxxii, lxxiii, 178, 233, 330, 340.
Carter, Robert ("King Carter"), 330.
Carpenter, agreement, 277.
Cary, Robert & Co., xvi.
Cary, Sally (see Mrs. G. W. Fairfax).
Champe, Col., lxxiii.
Champe, Jane, xliv.
Chapman, Lucy, xliv.
Charlemagne, lxviii.
"Chatham," lxxvii.
Cheiza d'Artignan, Count, lxxv.
Chester, Col. Joseph L., xiv.
Chichester, Mr., lx.
Chinn, Raleigh, xxiv.
Cincinnati, the, lxxi.
Clark, Maj. John, 112.
Clark, overseer, 269, 272.
Coach, xvi, lxix.
Cogswell, Joseph, v.
Colchester, lxvii, lxxvii, 116, 342.
College, William and Mary, lxxii; Carlisle, Pa., lxxviii; Harvard, lxxvii.
Colville, Col., 328.
Company, Potomac, 47, 66, 102, 303; James River, 303.
Congress, 77, 80, 112, 117, 147, 242, 246, 251.
Constable, Mr., lxvi.
Convention, Constitutional, lxxvi.
Conway, Col. Edwin, xxiv, xxviii, 85.
Conway, Capt., 85.
Conway, Joseph, 85.
Conway, Mary, 85.
Conway, Nelly, 85.
Conway, Richard, 85.
Conway, Richard M., xliv.
Conway, Sarah, xxxviii, 128.
Cooper Jack, negro, 187.
Cornwallis, Lord, xli.
Cotton, Dr., letter of, xxxii.
Coutant, Dr., 325, 334.
Cowpens, hero of, xxi.
Craik, Dr., lxvii, lxxvi, lxxxviii, 128, 187, 239, 269, 343; William, lxvii.
Cresap, Col., lxiii.
Crest, Washington, xvii *seq.*
Crow, overseer, 6, 9, 15, 19, 31, 41, 58, 92, 96, 102, 294.
Culpeper County, lxvii.
Cupid, negro, 264.
Custis, children, lxxii, 255.
Custis, Daniel Parke, lxviii.
Custis, Eleanor (Nelly), xlvii, lix, lxxiv, lxxxix, 182, 255.
Custis, Elizabeth, 201, 260.
Custis, G. W. P., li, 182, 257.
Custis, Jacky, xxix.
Custis, John P., 107, 257, 322, 324.
Custis, Martha Dandridge (see Washington).
Custis, Martha (Patsy), xlvii.
Cyrus, negro, 216, 270, 271.

DAINGERFIELD, Catharine, l.
Dandridge, Anna, 5.
Dandridge, Bartholomew, 31, 71, 279, 324.
Dandridge, John, lxviii; Mrs., 300.
Daniel, Hannah, xliii; Peter, xliii, 37.
Darlington, Dr., 306, 343.
Darnes, Mr., 235, 248.
Davenport, miller, 218; Mrs., 224.
Davis, Thomas, 20, 62, 82, 97, 295.
Davis, Rev. Thomas, 47, 126, 131, 220, 222.
Davy, overseer, 13, 20, 24, 194, 263, 294.
Dawson, Rev. M., l.
Deer at Mount Vernon, 146.
Dick, Maj. Charles, xlii, xlix, lxxxv.
Dick, Mary, l.
Dick, Milly, li.
Digges, Mr., lxxiv.
Dinwiddie, Governor, xlvii, lxiii.

Dix, Alfred, xlviii.
Dixon, Lucy, l.
Dixon, Roger, l.
Donaldson, James, carpenter, 113, 119, 127, 136, 142, 178, 198, 205.
Douglass, Mr., 79.
Downman, Frances, xxiv, xxx.
Downman, Raleigh, and Rawleigh, xxiv, xxx.
Dreer, Ferdinand J., xlvii, lxxi.
Dulany, Benjamin, 37, 322
Dumfries, Va., lxiii, lxxvi, lxxxvi.
Dunmore, Lord, liii.
Durham, England, xx.

EARLY, Widow, lxviii.
Edwards, Meridah, xxvii.
Ehler, gardener, 22, 40, 44, 267; Mrs., 156, 227.
Elliot, Miss, xxii.
Embargo, 59, 64, 76.
Emmet, Dr. Thomas A., xix, xxvii, 307.
England, seeds from, 234; farming in, 289.
Everett, Hon. Edward, vii.
Ewell, President, 128.
Echstein, artist, lxxiv.

FAIRFAX, Ann (Mrs. Lawrence Washington, afterwards *m.* George Lee), xxxiv, xliv.
Fairfax, Rev. Bryan, 126.
Fairfax, Col. George W., xxvi, xl, liv, lxxix; Mrs. (Sally Cary), xxiii, xxxvi.
Fairfax, Lord, x, xxxiv, lxi, lxiv, 127.
Fairfax, William, xxxiv.
Fairfax County, xxviii, xxxviii.
Fairfax, John, overseer, lxxv.
Falmouth, xxx, 70.
Fauchet, French minister, 68, 195.
Fauntleroy, Betsy, xxxvi, xxxix.
Fauntleroy, Moore, xxxix.
Fauntleroy, William, sr., xxxix.
Federal City, lxxxix, 114, 119, 253, 308.
Federalist, ship, lxxvi.
Fellenberg, Baron, v.
Ferry, Posey's, 115.
Ferry, Spotswood's, xxxii.
Fendall, Governor Maryland, xx.
Fitzgerald, Col., lxxv, lxxxvii, 143, 225, 229.
Fitzhugh, family, xxxvi.
Fitzhugh, Col. and Mrs. William, lxxvii, lxxxv, lxxxvii, lxxxix.
Fitzhugh, Mrs., at Mount Vernon, lxxxii.
Fitzhugh, Mary Lee, 257.
Fitzhugh, William of Ravensworth, lv.
Flemming, Jane, xxi.
Forbes, Mrs., housekeeper, 336.
Ford, Worthington C., xxxii, lxii.
Foote, Elizabeth (Mrs. Lund W.), 314, 325.
Fox, David, xxiv.
"Frances Alexa," xxxvi.
Franklin, Dr., lxxiv, lxxvi.
Frederick the Great, xi.
Fredericksburg, xxviii, xxx; fair at, xxxviii; club, lxxiv, lxxxiv, 70.
Freemason, lxxi, lxxxiv.
Freeman, Mr., lxxv.
Freke arms, xviii.
French, Daniel, 37; Mrs., 151, 230.
French, Capt. Hugh, xxvii.
French, George, xliii.
"French Paul," negro, 162, 176.
Frestal, M., 259.
Frost, Amariah, 23.
Fry, Col., 128.
Furnaces, xxxi.

GALLAGHER, Capt., lxxxvi.
Gallagher, Rev. M., lxxxvi.
Gallop, Joseph, 240, 242.
Garnett, Richard, British Museum, xvii.
Gazette, Alexandria, 226; Georgetown, 102.
Genet, French minister, 68.
Gibourne, Rev. Isaac, lxxiii.
Gill, Mr., Alexandria, 106.
Gilpin, Col., 52, 53, 210.
Gordon, Dr. William, 314.
Gough, Mr., 247.
Graham, Mr. and Mrs. Macauley, lxxi.
Grant, Margaret, xxxi.
Gray, Asa, *cit.*, 40.
Gray, weaver, 268.
Green, Rev. Charles, xxviii, lxxiii.
Green River lands, liv.
Green, Sally, 122, 131, 236.
Green, Thomas, carpenter, 27, 36, 43, 65, 97, 110.
Greenfield, Thomas, 305.
Greenwood, John, dentist, 325.
Gregory, Roger, xxxiv.
Grenville, Lord, 324.
Griffith, Rev. David, 312.
Grove, William, "convict," xxx.

HALE, Rev. E. E., xlii.
Hale, J. P., letter, lxiv.
Halley, Mr., Alexandria, 190.
Hamilton, Col., lxxxviii, 205, 259.
Hamilton, Dr., xv.
Hancock, John, xvi.
Harrison, Benjamin, 299.
Harrison, Constance, 328.
Harrison, Maj., lx.
Harrison, President, 299.
Hartley, Mrs., xlvii.
Hartshorn, Mr., Alexandria, 47, 210.
Haverhill, Washington at, xlviii.
Hawkins, senator, 124.
Hayden, Rev. H. E., xxviii.
"Hayfield," 116, 314.
Haynie, Mrs., lxxviii, 305.
Heard, Sir I., xiv.
Hening, *cit.*, xxxii.
Henley, Frances Dandridge, 63.
Herbert, William, Alexandria, lxxv, 126, 220, 222.
Hercules, negro, 270.
Hildebrand, Pope, xi.
Historical and Genealogical Register, xix.
Historical Society, New York, liv.
Hobby, Sexton, xxix *seq.*
Houdon, lxxiv.
Hough, John, lxxv.
Howell, George R., librarian, xv.
Howes, Thomas, xxvii.
Hoxton, L., 313.
Hughes, Mr., 242.
Humphreys, Col., 334.
Husbandry, books, 234, 245, 259, 330.
Huntington, Countess, xiv.

IREDELL, James, xlvii.
Irving, Washington, v.

JACKSON, President, xli.
Jackson, Robert, l.
Jay, his treaty, 59, 64, 68, 234.
Jefferson, 30, 63, 244.
John, gardener, 91.
Johnson, Mary, general's grandmother, xxiv, xlv.
Johnston, S., xlvii.
Jones, chaplain, lxxiv.
Jones, Joseph (Judge) and Mrs., l.
Jones, Paul, lxxxv.
Jones, Sarah (Ball), xxxviii.

KANAWHA, lxiii, 10, 307, 339.
Kane, Greenville, 314.
"Kenmore," xliv, 10.
Kiger, George, anecdote, xli.
King George County, xxviii.
Kingston (N. Y.) Church, 310.
Kirk, James, 266.
Kitt, steward, 200.
Knox, Gen., lxxi, lxxii, 303, 310.
Kountze, Luther, liii, lxxxvii.

"LACON," story of the general's father, xxvii.
Lafayette, Marquis, lxxv; bust of, 250, 259.
Lambton, Knight of, xx.
Lamphire, Mr., 318.
Lawrence, Sir James, xviii.
Laurie, Dr., lxxiii.
Law, Mr., 201, 260.
Lear, Tobias, xlviii, lxxii, lxxv, 5, 31, 63, 66, 142, 243, 264, 266, 270, 275; letter, 276.
Lee, Arthur, 256.
Lee, Charles, lxxv, 165.
Lee, George, lxii.
Lee, R. H., 111.
Lee, Gen. Robert E., 257.
Lee, Col. Thomas, 342.
Lefferts, Dorothy, vi.
L'Enfant, Major, xvi.
Lewis, Andrew, lxiv, lxvii.
Lewis, Ann, Mrs., l.
Lewis, Augustin, l.
Lewis, Betty, the general's sister, xliii, xliv; portrait, li; letters, lv *seq.*, lxi, lxxii, lxxvi, lxxxiv, 10, 53, 58, 114.
Lewis, Betty (see Carter).
Lewis, Catharine (Washington), l.
Lewis, Charles, xlix, l.
Lewis, Hon. Edward P. C., l.
Lewis, Col. Fielding, xliv, xlix, lii; letters, liii, lxxiv, lxxxv, 10.
Lewis, Fielding, jr., l, lxxvi.
Lewis, Frances, xlix, l.
Lewis, Major George, l, lxiv, lxxx, 195, 337.
Lewis, G. W., lxxvi.
Lewis, Howell, li, lviii, lxxx, 10, 18, 27, 53, 291; letters to, 293, 305.
Lewis, Capt. H. Howell, l, lxi.
Lewis, James, 307.
Lewis, Maj. John, xxxiv, lxix.
Lewis, John, xlix, lxxvi.
Lewis, Lawrence, l, lix, lxi, lxxx, 255, 292, 305.
Lewis, Lucy, l.
Lewis, Robert, of Wales, xlix.
Lewis, Robert, l; mayor, li; agent, lx, lxxviii, lxxx, 41, 44, 53, 231, 233, 240, 241, 256, 291; account-book, 305, 306.

Lewis, R. Byrd, l, 195, 337.
Lewis, Samuel, l.
Lewis, Hon. Thomas, xxxvi.
Lewis, Warner, brother of Col. Fielding, xlix.
Lewis, Warner, son of Col. Fielding, l.
Lincoln, Gen., 63.
Liston, family, xxv.
Liston, British minister, 256.
Little, Col. Charles, lxxxvii, 308.
Little, William A., xxxii.
"Little Falls," farm, xxx *seq.*, lxxvii.
Lodge, Hon. Cabot, xvii; his "Washington," 195.
Logan, chief, lxiii.
Logan, Daniel Boone, xv.
Lomax, Judge, lxxvii.
Long, Miss (Mrs. Lear), 63.
Loring, his child, xlviii.
Louis XVI., portrait, xvii.
Lovell, Howell L., lviii.
"Lowland Beauty," xxxvi.
Lucy, cook, 23.
Lund, the name, xviii.
Lyle, Col., 56, 102, 105, 108.

M'CRAE, Mr., lxxiii.
M'Donough, president, 341.
M'Guire, Rev. E. C., xxviii, lxxx, 184, 285, 291.
M'Guire, Frederick, li, lii, lxxiv, lxxix.
Madison, James, 85; Mrs., lxxxiv.
Magazine of American History, liv; Harper's, xlvii; Historical, xviii, xx, xliii; Lippincott's, lxxxii.
M'Koy, overseer, 13, 15, 20, 25, 31, 41, 44, 86, 92, 96, 110.
Markham, Louis, xvii, xxv.
"Marmion," l.
Marshall, Mr., 321.
Marshall, Mrs., lxxxviii.
Marye, Rev. James, xxxv.
Marye, Peter, l.
Mask of Washington, lxxxvii. See portrait.
Mason, Hon. Armstead T., 103.
Mason, Col. George, lxxiv, 103, 322.
Mason, Stevens Thomson, 103.
Mason, Thomson, lx, 103, 113, 115, 117, 327.
Massaponax Creek, xxxii.
Massey, Rev. Lee, lxxvi.
Massy, Miss, xxi.
Maupin, Prof. Chapman, lxx, 342.
Mauzy, John, surveyor, 305.
Meigs, John, lxv.
Meigs, Col. R. J., lxv.
Mercer, Col. George, 323.
Mercer, Gen. Hugh, lxxxv, 315.
Mercer, James (Judge), li, lvii, lxxv, lxxvi, 323.
Mercer, John, 133, 323.
Mercer, John F., lxxix.
Mifflin, Warner, xlvi.
Milburne, Mr., 277.
Mills, Clark, lxxxvii.
Minor, George, 75, 131, 235.
Minor, John B., 75.
Minor, Virginia Carter, 299.
Minor, Mrs., 330.
Minton, Mrs., xxvi.
Mochodock Creek, xxvii.
Monroe, James, lxxxv.
Morris, Gouverneur, 68, 328.
Morris, Robert, xvi, lxvi, lxxxviii, lxxxix.
Motto, Washington's, xv.
Mount Vernon, xxviii, lxii; building, lxx; alterations, 236, 254, 262, 265; school-house, 248; company, 252; managers, 291; cotton, 33; and *in loc.*
Muclus, negro, 21, 82, 97, 295.
"Muddy Hole Will," overseer, 22.
Muir, Rev. James, 47, 191.
"Mulatto Will," 74.
Murray, George, 338.
Muse, Battaile, 305.
Mussipontarius, on urbanity, xxxv.

NEALE, superintendent, 202, 212, 262, 271.
Negroes, their names, 119.
Nicholas, Lewis, xxvii.
Norton, John, 126.

O'HARA, Gen., xli.
O'Neill, stonemason, 82, 87, 94, 139.
Overdursh, Dutch family, bought, lxxvi.

PAGE, John, 126.
Page, Mann, lxxvii.
Paine, Thomas, "Common Sense," liii, 47.
Parin, M., lxxiv.
Parks, lxxxiv.
Paschal, negro, 119, 248.
Peake, manager, lxxviii, 291.
Peale, C. W., lxxxvi.
Pearce, William, manager, *in loc.*; certificate, 271.
Pearson, Simon, 317.
Peekskill, lxv.
Pendleton, E. B., letter, lxiv.

Pepperell, Sir W., 311.
Périn, Léonard, xxxv.
Perrin, Mrs., xliv.
Peter, keeper of stud, 48, 87, 142, 217, 224, 238, 265.
Pettit, Charles, 323.
Peyton, Mrs. Frances, xxi.
Peyton, Col. Valentine, xxi.
Pinckney, American minister in England, 234.
Philips, Mr., 276.
Phillips, A. K., letter, xxxii.
Pollard, Miss, 10.
Pope, Ann, xx.
Port Royal, lxxiii.
Port Tobacco, lxxvi.
Posey, Capt. John, 115.
"Postilion Joe," 190, 203.
Potts, James, 277.
Powell, Elizabeth, letter to, lxxxviii.
Prescott, Capt., xx.
Prince William County, xxviii, lxvii.
Pursh, *cit.*, 30.
Pyne, Mr., 107, 110, 114, 123, 131.

RANDOLPH, Edmund, xiii, lxxv, lxxxvii, 59, 89, 112, 134, 195, 201, 205, 323; declines Washington's fee, 325.
Readman, Robert, xxvii.
"Redemptioners," lxxv, lxxvi.
Renwick, James, v.
Richmond, negro, 119, 261.
Ridgway, Gen., lxx.
Rietstap, *cit.*, xviii.
Rogers, Miss (Mrs. Joseph Ball), xxiv.
Rosier, John, xxvii.
Rotation, of crops, 282, 287.
"Rules of Civility," xxxv.
Russell, Mr., 306.

SAMUELS, Judge, lxxix.
Scott, Robert, 305.
Seals, xiv.
Seatons, l.
Shearman, Mrs., xxv.
Simms, Col., lxxxvii, 106, 160.
Sims, Mrs., xlviii.
Sinclair, Sir J., xvi, 178, 331.
Slaughter, Rev. Dr., xii, xxvii, xxx, 75, 128.
Smith, Alexander, 53, 167, 219, 238, 261, 266, 269.
Smyth, Dr., lxxxiv.
Spencer, Nicholas, xxvi.
Spotswood, Col., xxxii, lxxvii, lxxxv.
Stabler, Edward, xlv; Henry, xlvi; Jessie, xlv.
Stafford, County, xxviii; C.-H., lxxvii.
Steptoe, Anne, xliv.
Stevens, Rev. B., 312.
Stewart, Robert, lxii.
St. George's Church, Fredericksburg, xxx, lxxvii.
Strickland, William, 178.
Stuart, Dr. David, lxxiv, 107, 152, 188, 224; Mrs., 334.
Stuart, overseer, 6, 13, 24, 34, 41, 81, 258, 276, 297.
Storke, xxvii.
Strother, Alice, xxx; Jane, xxxv; John, xxxiii; William, xxxi, xxxv.
Sullivan, Capt., lxxv.
Swan, Mr., 337.

TALIAFERRO, Maj., xxxii; Mary, l.
Tayloe, Delia, xxxv.
Thompson, Rev., lxxiv.
Thompson, Capt. William, 342.
Thornton family, xxxiv; Frances, l; George, l; John, l; Mildred, xliv; William, lxxxix.
Thorn, the Washington, 36, 67.
Tilghman, Col. Oswald, 3; Col. Tench, lxvi, lxxi; William (Judge), 3.
Tobacco, 385.
Toner, Dr. J. M., xxxv, xliv, lxxxvii.
Townshend, Mary, xxi.
Travers, Hannah, xliii.
Travers, Rawleigh, xxiv.
Triplett, Mr., 317.
Truro Parish, xxviii, xxix, 75,
Turner, Mr., of Alexandria, 45.

UNIVERSITY, Washington and Lee, 304.

VAN SLYKE, Rev. Dr., 310.

WAKEFIELD, xvii, xxvi; burnt, xxviii, xxxix.
Ward, Gen. Artemas, xlviii.
Warner, Augustine, xxxiv, xlix; Elizabeth, xlix; Mildred, xx; "Warner Hall," xlix.
Washington, arms, family, etc., xiv *seq.*
Washington, Captain Augustine, father of the general, ix, xix,

xxiv, xxvi, xxvii *seq.*; will, xxxi, lxii.
Washington, Augustine, half-brother of the general, xxiii, xliv, xci, 110.
Washington, Anne (Aylett), xliv, 110.
Washington, Col. Bailey, xxi.
Washington, Baron, xviii.
Washington, Betty (see Lewis).
Washington, Bushrod, Judge, lvi, lxvii, lxx, lxxxvii, xcii, 308, 328, 336.
Washington, Catharine, xlix.
Washington, Charles, xxix, xliv, l, lix, 62; death, 344.
Washington, Corbin, lxvi.
Washington, Dyonis, xviii.
Washington, Frances, xlviii, 5, 12, 18, 22, 32, 40, 69, 82, 87, 112, 128, 171, 173.
Washington, George, Gen., on war, ix, xlvi; character and works, xii; seals, xv; education, xxix, xxxv; inheritance, xxxi; rules of civility, xxxv; poems, xxxvi, xl; early love, xxxvi; anecdotes of, xli, 57; self-command, xlii; with his mother, xlii; wife, xliv; and Quakers, xlv, lxx, lxxxi; love of children, xlviii; inherits Mt. Vernon, lxii; lands, xxxii, lxii; elm, lxiv; taste, lxx; chancellorship, lxxii; diaries, lxxiii *seq.*; plow, lxxiii; charities, lxxviii, 255; gaiety, lxxxii; a Mason, lxxxiv; portraits, xiii, lxxiv, lxxxvi; will, xci, 63, 111, 223, 304, 307; his flag, 153; cherry-tree story, 153; humanity, 184; desire for retirement, 227, 256, 339; religion, 76, 192, 310 *seq.*; death, xcii, 344.
Washington, George, of Bermuda, xix.
Washington, George Augustine, lx, lxxiv, lxxvi, 5, 62, 74, 291, 305, 309.
Washington, George Steptoe, 128.
Washington, Harriot, lxxviii, 195.
Washington, Herbert, lxxix.
Washington, James, xviii.
Washington, Jane, xliv.
Washington, Col. John (immigrant), xviii, xx.
Washington, John, of Stafford, Va., xxvii.
Washington, John, son of Townshend, xxxvii.
Washington, John Augustine, brother of general, xxix, xxx, xliii, lxvi; death, lxxvi, xcii, 110.
Washington, John Augustine, son of Corbin, lxxxvii.
Washington, Lawrence (Bermuda), xix.
Washington, Lawrence (Chotanck, Va.), xxi.
Washington, Lawrence (Virginia immigrant), xv, xx, xxv, xc, 342.
Washington, Lawrence, son of Col. John, xxvi; will, xxvii.
Washington, Lawrence, half-brother of general, xxxi, xxxiv, xxxix, lxii, lxxxii; his will, xci.
Washington, Lawrence, son of Samuel, lxxx, 128.
Washington, Lewis W., xv, li; Mrs. (Ella Bassett), lii, lxxviii, lxxxi, 53, 305.
Washington, Lund, xxi, xlix, 89, 116, 124, 126, 131, 133, 156, 160, 168, 173, 291; letters to, 314; death, 335.
Washington, Martha, general's wife, xliv; portrait, li; marriage, lxviii; anecdote, lxxxiii; 45, 58, 90, 112, 126, 128, 146, 148, 179, 246, 255, 256, 275, 298, 307, 336, 343.
Washington, Mary, general's mother, xli, xliii; monument, xlv; will, lvii, lxxiii; at Fredericksburg, lxxiv, lxxvii.
Washington, Mildred (Warner), general's grandmother, xxvi.
Washington, Mildred, general's sister, xxix, xliv.
Washington, Richard, lxviii.
Washington, Robert, xxi.
Washington, Robert, of Chotanck, xxxvi, xxxvii.
Washington, Robert J., xiv.
Washington, Samuel, general's brother, xxix, xliv, l, lxxiii, 128.
Washington, Samuel, son of Charles, lxxx.
Washington, Townshend, xxi, xxxvii.
Washington, Warner, lxxix.
Washington, Col. William, xxi *seq.*
Washington, William Augustine, general's half-nephew, lxxxvii *seq.*; correspondence, xc, 110, 114, 119, 127, 166, 199.
Washington farm, xxxi *seq.*
Washingtons, the German, xvii.
Waters, H. F., *cit.*, xix.

Weedon, George, xxvii.
Weedon, Gen. George, lxxiv, lxxvi, lxxxiv, 315.
Weems, Rev. Mason, x, lxxvi.
Wellford, Judge Beverley, xxxii, lxxx; Surgeon-Gen. Robert, lxxx; his career, lxxxv.
Westmoreland County, Va., xxviii.
Whiskey Rebellion, lxxxv, 111, 165.
White, David, xxvii.
Whiting, Anthony, manager, 14, 24, 29, 37, 41; estate, 62, 154.
Whiting, Francis, lv.
Williams, Mrs., xxvi.
Williams, Mr., teacher, xxxiv.
Willis, Maj. Byrd, xxxv; Col. Harry, xxxiv, xlix; Lewis, xxxv, lxxvii, lxxxv; Mildred, l, 299.
Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. John E., xvii.
Wilson, Gov. West Virginia, 293.
Wine, at Mount Vernon, 128, 178.
Wodron, Mr., lxiii.
Wolcott, Secretary of Treasury, 195.
Woodford, Gen., lxxxv.
Woodward, Mr., 339.
Wormeley, Katharine, anecdote, lxxxii.
Wright, Ann, xxvii; Francis, xxvii.
Wright, artist, lxxiv; Mrs., xvii; letter to, lxxiv.
Wythe, Chancellor, xlix.

YATES, Charles, l.
Yates, Hon. Jasper, xlvii.
Young, Arthur, lxxii.
Young, Notley, 52.

F
116
L954
v.4

Long Island Historical
Society
Memoirs

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY